Daily Report

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Government To Send Representatives to Baghdad

AU0310220590 Sofia BTA in English 2131 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Oct (BTA)—This evening the Iraqi side raised the question of sending a representative of the Bulgarian president and the Bulgarian prime minister to Iraq to negotiate the evacuation of the Bulgarian citizens who are there and to discuss Bulgaria's position to the Gulf crisis, Mr. Filip Ishpekov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, announced in the Bulgarian parliament tonight. Up to now Bulgaria has insisted on receiving a representative of Iraq here, but today the government decided to respond to Iraq's proposal for the sake of the quicker evacuation of the Bulgarians.

There are 692 Bulgarian citizens in Iraq, 30 women and six children included. They are greatly worried, because a war may break out, Mr. Ishpekov said. They have difficulties with getting food. So far there have been no reports of their being maltreated by the Iraqi side.

Bulgaria is doing its best to provide her citizens with food On September 29 it became known that the bank accounts of some Bulgarian organizations were blocked. It would create financial difficulties in the future, Mr. Ishpekov said.

Today the parliamentary Foreign Policy Committee had a meeting with representatives of the Committee for the Rescue of the Bulgarians in Iraq—they stood in front of the parliament almost all day today. Mr. Ishpekov agreed with the reproaches that the Bulgarians could have been evacuated earlier from Iraq.

Iraqi Envoy Questioned on Evacuation of Nationals

AU0310202690 Sofia BTA in English 1945 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Oct (BTA)—Today Mr. Filip Ishpekov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, received the ambassador of Iraq to Sofia, Mr. Fauzi Dakir al-Ani [name as received], the purpose being to speed up the evacuation of the Bulgarian citizens from Iraq. It was underlined that the Bulgarian side attaches paramount importance to the urgent settlement of this problem over which the Bulgarian public and the country's leadership are increasingly alarmed, as they are extremely and justifiably concerned over the fate of their compatriots.

It was pointed out that the Iraqi side has not answered the message Premier Andrey Lukanov sent to Mr. Taha Yasin Ramadan on September 21 in which it is categorically insisted that for the sake of humanism the restrictions imposed on the Bulgarian workers and specialists in that region should be lifted.

The Iraqi side did not reply the requests for a positive settlement of the problem which the Bulgarian side has repeatedly made in the last two months.

It was stated to the ambassador of Iraq that the Iraqi side will bear all the responsibility for the Bulgarian citizens' fate; Iraq must lift the restrictions and give all Bulgarian citizens the possibility of returning to their motherland the soonest possible.

Deputy Minister Denies Breaches of Iraq Embargo

AU0310220690 Sofia BTA in English 2145 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Oct (BTA)—Bulgaria repudiates the charges made against it for allegedly having violated the embargo against Iraq, Mr. Filip Ishpekov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, stated in the Bulgarian parliament tonight. He presented data delivered by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, which disprove the announcement made in the BBC News Hour programme aired early in the morning on September 26 according to which Bulgaria exported lamb to Iraq by air.

Bulgaria's major exporter of meat—the Rodopaimpex Company, has not exported meat to Iraq and Kuwait for two years now. On March 27 one hundred and twelve tons of different meats were shipped for the Bulgarians working in Iraq. In March this year another Bulgarian firm exported a small quantity of poultry.

Balkan Airlines declare that since August 2 no aircraft—neither Bulgarian nor foreign, has taken off from any Bulgarian military or civil airport en route to Iraq or Kuwait.

Varna Rally Held Against Sending Troops to Gulf

AU0410110790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 2 Oct 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Rally Against Sending Bulgarian Soldiers to Persian Gulf"]

[Text] Varna, 1 Oct—"Do not cast your decisive vote for killing our fathers and mothers—hostages in Iraq—with Bulgarian weapons," said a child, Yordan Mikhaylov, whose father is a driver in Iraq, as he sat on the shoulders of an older man. This happened at a rally organized by the regional committee on Defense of National Interests, the Bulgarian National-Radical Party, and the Fatherland Labor Party, in protest against sending Bulgarian troops to the Persian Gulf. The rally was attended by the wives of 17 Bulgarian hostages in Iraq. A poster read: "Mr. President, the Arab desert is not Bulgaria."

The rally sent a protest telegram to the Grand National Assembly, the Presidency, the Council of Ministers, and the Ministry of National Defense.

Assembly Adopts Address on German Unification

AU0310200590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1857 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text of "Address of the Grand National Assembly to the Bundestag of the Republic of Germany in Connection With the Unification of Germany," read in the Grand National Assembly by Aleksandur Stamboliyski, secretary of the parliamentary Foreign Policy Commission, in Sofia—live]

[Text] Esteemed members of the Federal Parliament—the Bundestag—of the Federal Republic of Germany:

In this address to you, the Grand National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria greets the unification of Germany and expresses its complete solidarity with this act of restoration of historical justice.

The Grand National Assembly is convinced that a unified Germany will make its contribution to building a peaceful, democratic, and flourishing united Europe.

The Grand National Assembly expresses our country's readiness to expand and consolidate the traditional political, economic, and cultural relations between Germany and Bulgaria. We hope that the contacts already established between our parliaments will continue to be developed and enriched in the future for the good of our two peoples. Sofia, 3 October 1990

Differences Between Zhelev, Lukanov Visits Viewed

AU0410082790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 29 Sep 90 p 1

[Untitled Veselka Marinova article]

[Text] I thought that we united as a nation when our two statesmen—the president and the prime minister—departed for two different corners of the world to seek assistance. In light of the food stores in certain cities being empty and in light the fact that we were not sure of how to provide heating for our children and the fear of the future prevented us from working in a normal manner, we were prepared to swallow our national pride.

However, we quickly found ourselves divided once again. This happened not only due to the unethical words from across the ocean—that in 48 hours the country achieved more than in the last 48 years. God help the president to really come back with full bags, because we all are eagerly awaiting him. However, ethics are needed in grand politics, certainly more than in everyday human relations. Perhaps there are many disputable elements in our past, present, and future economic relations with the USSR, however, one must really be blind to ignore the fact that we erase the past too easily. Perhaps rivers of gold did not flow from the USSR toward Bulgaria, however, at least something was flowing for many years. This is a fact we cannot and must not deny.

If on the eve of the departure of the president and the prime minister many people did not even ask themselves about the price of the anticipated assistance, now I know: The pain that came from the East was less, because it is more dignified to receive when you also give. However, I have difficulties in understanding the motives behind the dispatch of a military unit of ours to the area of the Middle East conflict.

Do not certain people deceive us when they force us to ignore the fact that tomorrow grand world politics and neighborly laws can again hit us and inflict on us not only a political but also an economic blow, which could have unforeseeable consequences?

U.S. Economic Team Delivers Report to Lukanov

AU0310220090 Sofia BTA in English 2105 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Oct (BTA)—The group of U.S. experts who took part in the working out of the project for the implementation of an economic reform in Bulgaria are well aware of the grave economic situation the country is in. Dr. Richard Rahn, vice president and chief economist at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, who is leading the group of experts and who has been here with his colleagues for several days now, told journalists today that in the last decades a lot of material resources have been wasted and that the economy must be restructured.

The American project has been agreed with the Bulgarian experts during the reciprocal visits to the capitals of the United States and Bulgaria, exchanged several times.

The American project has been handed over to the Bulgarian Government and today, at the meeting the U.S. delegation headed by Dr. Rahn had with Bulgaria's Premier Andrey Lukanov, an agreement was reached for future joint action and for U.S. assistance in the implementation of a sweeping economic reform and its practical application.

The project covers the problems of privatization, the reform of monetary and credit relations and of financial institutions, the convertibility of the Bulgarian lev, taxation policy and the possibility of setting up a large free zone along the Black Sea coast.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov will submit the programme of the government to the Bulgarian parliament on October 9. He is expected to make a speech at the Grand National Assembly on the following day.

BSP Leader Lilov Greets U.S. Ambassador

AU0310165990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Today Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, met with Mr. Hugh Kenneth Hill, U.S. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria.

During their conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of goodwill, readiness was expressed to revive the constructive dialogue in the interest of developing Bulgarian-U.S. relations.

Lyubomir Kyuchukov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, took part in the meeting.

Report on BSP Headquarters Arson Investigation

AU0310183090 Sofia BTA in English 1654 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Oct (BTA)—The Prosecuting Magistracy with the Ministry of the Interior has announced they have in their possession data and evidence incriminating more than 90 people involved in the arson and the outrages of the building of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party in the centre of Sofia on August 26, 1990.

In the last month the investigating authorities have interrogated hundreds of witnesses, they have carried out searches and identified individual persons. Different experts have been consulted. The investigating authorities have at their disposal a lot of film and photographic material of the night of the crime. The perpetrators of the outrages are being identified and arrested thanks to reports of citizens, testimony and inquiries. Legal proceedings have been initiated against part of the identified 90 people. They are charged with arson, destruction, inflicting damages on and stealing public property, putting up resistance to the law enforcement units and hooliganism.

The investigating authorities have delivered the BTA photographs of the incident for publication in the press and addressed all citizens with an appeal to render assistance whenever a perpetrator involved in the crime is identified by them.

Red Star Removed From Facade

AU0410100590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] This morning, at 1012, the red star was removed from the building of the Bulgarian Socialist Party headquarters in Sofia, by a helicopter assisted by two workmen.

The whole operation did not take more than five minutes. All necessary security measures were observed.

Lukanov Addresses BSP Congress on Needed Reform

AU0210121590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on speech by Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov at 39th Bulgarian Socialist Party Congress in Sofia on 23 September]

[Text] It is our duty, as a ruling party, to promote a convincing program for overcoming the current crisis and, through the government and parliament, to guarantee optimal public support for the reform and its implementation, Andrey Lukanov stated after expressing his support for the draft platform and the new statute of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

The speaker further dwelled on the financial imbalance of our economy and on the disintegration of the former trade relations within the framework of the CEMA organization, which developed over several decades. He pointed out that the level of consumption of material resources no longer corresponds to our real opportunities and the drastically reduced share of our national revenue allocated for structural economic changes and for the renewal of our basic funds.

The chief contradiction and major problem for us, as Socialists and as a ruling party, is the fact that a fundamental economic reform inevitably demands social sacrifices. We are obliged to promote a policy of really restricted consumption, reduction of subsidies and of financial support for unprofitable enterprises, and we are expected to reduce credits and demand higher interests for them, to dismiss workers, who are not effectively employed, or to transfer them to other jobs; we are obliged to liberalize market relations, prices included, and so forth, Andrey Lukanov said.

Under such circumstances, we can call ourselves active Socialists, only if we at least partially try to implement the social measures mapped out in our election platform, the speaker stated. We can neither renounce radical reforms, nor can we disregard the social interests of Bulgarian citizens in their majority. In addition to this; we must resolutely dismiss social demagogy and vain promises from our propaganda work and from our activities.

We should also realize that the success, or failure of this government will not only depend on its resolute actions, but also on the extent of social understanding and public support for our activities, an understanding and support which only a powerful political organization, such as our party, is capable of winning.

In this context we should regard the struggle for the restoration of economic stability and discipline as a task of primary political importance for the party as a whole. We should also consider the struggle for halting the increasingly aggressive attempts of economic destabilization as one of our most important tasks, and the same applies to our efforts of promptly reorienting our production enterprises toward new structural trends and markets, the speaker further stressed. I think that the party could become the initiator of a broad civic movement in trying to thwart the black market and corruption, which represent an outrageous and direct attack against the Bulgarian citizens' interests and living standard. This subject, along with other topical issues of our everyday life, should be main issue of our campaign for

the forthcoming local elections. Naturally, our activities in this respect this should by no means replace the responsibility of the Grand National Assembly and of the government in the "war" against black market and corruption.

The preservation of civil peace and the protection of public order in our country are certainly among the most decisive prerequisites for the success of our reforms and for guaranteeing the necessary international support and assistance. I would like to assure you that the government is fully aware of its responsibility toward the nation and shall never hesitate to apply all means provided for by the Bulgarian laws to halt the further decline of our society which is sliding toward the dangerous borderline separating the peaceful transition to democracy from the violence, anarchy, and civil war.

Andrey Lukanov further stated as follows: We are often reprimanded by our party members, by our supporters, but also by some delegates, here at the congress, who are telling us that we have made "enough compromises!" and that we should "go over to attack!"

The speaker pointed out that if attack should mean a struggle to restore the party's powerful positions which it held at the epoch of its political monopoly and which it had to renounce, he is definitely against such a form of attack.

As an influential political force, we should go over to attack only in one direction, namely:

—In the development of democratic processes, in providing constitutional and legal guarantees for the irreversibility of these processes, in the resolute defense of parliamentary democracy, of the rights, freedoms, and personal immunity of citizen's against any unlawful forms of persecution, or pressure;

—In solving the most crucial problems facing the Bulgarian citizen and our society today, especially as regards the economic and social spheres; in guaranteeing material conditions for the existence of our population as a civilized nation, and in implementing a radical market reform;

—In rescuing the country from the destructive processes which are threatening it and in protecting civil peace, law and order, and the people's unity, as well as national security, and Bulgaria's territorial integrity.

The renewal of party cadres was frequently mentioned in the accountability report and in the ensuing debates, the speaker further stated. We can definitely say that, even after the congress, the extent of this change will be one of the basic criteria according to which our society is expected to evaluate the party's capability of keeping abreast with current developments and with the democratic revolution, which actually originated with the party.

A new image, this is what people demand from us. Failing to realize this would be a great mistake on our part. We cannot deny that the party needs experienced politicians, that knowledgeable and educated people are in great demand today. It is also true that the understanding between different generations and cadres within the party is a decisive prerequisite for its consolidation as a promoter of reforms. However, these logical and sensible conclusions cannot overshadow the urgent requirement for a decisive renewal of cadres and for rejuvenation at all levels in our party's leadership. This requirement should prevail over all other considerations today. The congress should express its firm resolve on this question, Andrey Lukanov insisted.

In this connection we cannot avoid the question concerning those among us who were destined to belong to the party's and country's leadership both prior to and following 10 November 1989. It is true that, despite the exceptionally limited possibilities of expressing any independent political views whatsoever under the authoritarian regime, we nevertheless, tried to defend different stands, especially over the last years, and to express the existing discontent and longing for change which prevailed within the entire party and in our society. It is also true that our confidence in the inevitability of the future 10 November events determined the meaning of our struggle for political survival in those days. However, in order to make these events possible, it was necessary to fight for our positions against the efforts of the Zhivkov mafia to establish its permanent and total domination over the party and the country. It is also true that 10 November became reality and provided a historical chance for our party to undergo a thorough change and to preserve its influence upon Bulgarian society. However, it is in the name of this historical chance, precisely, that we should be prepared to resign in favor of new people and new generations of party cadres by granting them the opportunity and right of assuming the party's leadership, Andrey Lukanov pointed out.

In discussing our place in the current changing society and our own contribution to its transformation, we cannot disregard the following three questions which evoke great interest and stormy disputes in our country: These are the questions of the responsibility for the country's present situation, of party property, and of the party symbols.

The political report correctly and objectively raised the question of responsibility. This issue does not allow any delay, considering that our public and numerous party members are increasingly expressing their conviction that we are trying to forget this issue. It is necessary to adopt a clear and unmistakable stand on the search for personal responsibility, legal responsibility included, if the individual in question has committed a breach of law, or has abused his power. It is only from this position that we can oppose the efforts of slandering the party as a form of preparation for its physical extermination, and the efforts of organizing a "witch hunt," or of encouraging anarchy, political revanchism, and the feelings of revenge, and hatred.

Our stand on the party property should also be categorical and unmistakable. From a purely legal point of view, we are fully entitled to all our properties. From the point of view of the current understanding about the party's role in society and of the present day moral standards, however, we should not only give up our resistance, but also try to restore to society that particular part of our property which was accumulated with the help of state subsidies, which should also apply to all those material assets that are no longer required for the activities of a new party, such as we are striving to be.

In the final passage of his address, Andrey Lukanov dwelled on the question of the party symbols. This issue profoundly and painfully affects every one of us, considering that the symbols in question are linked to all those events of our past which we cannot and should not forget, events which justify our pride of being BSP members. Nevertheless, it is not the heart, but common sense that should determine our decisions. If we wish to be a truly national party, we should not obey our feelings and preferences as Socialists. We are obliged to respect the views of our society as a whole, including even those who are not our supporters. Sticking to symbols which divide our society and oppose our people to each other would mean paying tribute to the outdated monopolistic mentality and sectarian traditions of our past.

In all three of these cases I just described there is no question of dishonorable compromise. It is a question of voluntary actions, which are not adopted under anyone else's pressure, but on the basis of our conviction which confirms the BSP's readiness to become a new party.

For this reason precisely, I consider it necessary to adopt three separate congressional resolutions on the aforementioned issues that should be prepared by three respective commissions elected for that purpose.

Socialists Accused of Breaking Rally Moratorium

AU0310170590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 3 Oct 90

["Full text" of letter from Dr. Petur Beron, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, to Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, supplied through BTA; place and date not given—read by unidentified announcer]

[Text] Dear Mr. Lilov:

As you know very well, the leadership of your party proposed declaring a moratorium on mass rallies, demonstrations, and so forth, and the Union of Democratic Forces agreed to this proposal for the period when the president of the Republic is absent from the country.

Despite the fact that agreement was reached, the Socialist Youth Union, which is considered to be a youth organization and a reserve of your party, has announced a rally on 5 October in Sofia against the proposal by the president of the Republic to take part in the joint actions of UN member countries against Iraqi aggression in Kuwait.

It is of interest to us to hear, and we indeed insist on hearing, your own view and that of the leadership of your party concerning this rally and the disregard for the agreement reached on a moratorium, as well as whether you consider that this initiative is aimed at reducing the tension between the political forces.

We look forward to your letter of reply, and hope that, like this letter, it will be supplied to the mass media.

Further on Alleged Breach

AU0310210190 Sofia BTA in English 1934 GMT 3 Oct 90

["Is BSP Breaking the Moratorium Proposed by Itself?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 3 Oct (BTA)—"The rally cannot lead to disturbing the public peace," Mr. Stefan Prodev, editor-in-chief of DUMA—the paper of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), and member of the Bulgarian parliament, told to a BTA reporter in connection with the announcement about the rally convened by the Socialist Youth League tomorrow in protest against the possible decision to send Bulgarian volunteers to Saudi Arabia where they would join the international security forces.

DUMA has been front-paging the announcement about the rally for three days now. Today the opposition DEMOKRATSIYA accused DUMA of breaking the moratorium on mass drives (rallies, demonstrations, strikes, etc.) while the president is away from the country paying visits to the United States and France. The imposition of the moratorium was proposed by the Supreme Council of the BSP and approved by President Zhelev.

Today Dr. Petur Beron, leader of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), sent a sharp open letter to the chairman of the BSP, Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, in connection with the intention to break the moratorium. In the letter the Socialist Youth League is defined as "a reserve of the Socialist Party."

"Do you think that this initiative will ease the tension between the political forces," Dr. Petur Beron asks.

"Rallies are being held all over the country, but nobody has been disturbed," Mr. Prodev told the BTA reporter.

After President Zhelev stated in Washington that Bulgaria was ready to join the common actions of the United Nations member countries against the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq, DUMA and some organizations which are close to the Socialist Party sharply declared themselves to be against such a step.

At a news conference held yesterday evening the Socialist prime minister, Mr. Andrey Lukanov, said that

the matter would be submitted for discussion to the Grand National Assembly next week, after the president comes back from Paris.

Prof. Chavdar Kyuranov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council and former candidate for the Presidency, declared himself to be against the rally. But he explained to the BTA that the Socialist Youth League was unrelated to the BSP and that the BSP cannot give it orders. According to him DUMA published the announcement about the rally because "it is a paper obliged to inform about everything which is happening or will happen in the country."

Dertliev on Opposition's Conflict With Government

AU0310110290 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 29-30 Sep 90 p 4

[Interview with Petur Dertliev, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, by Frank Herold; place and date not given: "Unknown Ministers Without a Program for Change"]

[Text] [Herold] A spectacular action took place in the Bulgarian National Assembly during the vote on the new government. The opposition withdrew to the visitors' benches. Why?

[Dertliev] This has been exaggerated a bit. After all, differences in opinion between the government and the opposition are normal everywhere. Before that, too, we had left the hall when there were conflicts.

Some Candidates Would Have Lost

[Herold] But you could have voted against the government.

[Dertliev] Of course. The opposition wanted the government to present first a program on the basic changes. In contrast to the democratic countries, where the politicians who want to become ministers are long before known with their political profile, in our country a cabinet was presented with unknown ministers and without a program. We see this as a sign of disrespect for the opposition. In our view, the ministers first would have had to introduce themselves in the committees; certainly, some would have lost already there.

[Herold] The Bulgarians are currently most worried about the accelerated economic decline of their country. Which concepts does the opposition offer as a way out of this dilemma?

No Contradictions, but Profound Distrust

[Dertliev] The concepts of the government and the opposition are not extremely contradictory. There is agreement that privatization is necessary, that equal competition must take place between the various forms of ownership. The difference consists in the views on the scope and speed of reforms. The main difference, however, lies in the will for practical implementation. So far, the Communists have not implemented any privatization, in contrast to their statements.

[Herold] In view of the similarity of the economic concepts, why has the opposition nevertheless rejected the offer for a coalition made by the socialists, who are now ruling alone?

[Dertliev] Because the totalitarian structures continue to exist. Any government incurs the risk that the decisions for restructuring society leak away in these old structures. In purely psychological terms, there is absolute distrust between the government and the opposition, which is a result of the past, but which became even stronger during the election campaign. The Communists say they are ready for reforms, but they still pursue a completely conservative policy, along with a large dose of demagoguery.

We are afraid that we will slide into the situation in the semi-official Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, which formally was in a coalition for 45 years but remained without its own profile. And then there is the relationship of power. The Communists have the majority in parliament and are able at any time to throw out an unwanted partner.

[Herold] Is the opposition not in a schizophrenic situation now? On the one hand it has the president, on the other it is in political opposition to the government.

[Dertliev] Is the United States in a schizophrenic situation, where a president, who is a Republican, faces a majority of Democrats in the Congress?

Differentiations Among the Communists

[Herold] How would you characterize the current relationship of political power?

[Dertliev] Purely on the outside, there have not been any big changes. The ideological differentiation in the Communist Party is continuing. And a similar process can also be seen in the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. The Communists have three basic movements: a Stalinist-conservative, a halfheartedly reformist, and an obviously social democratic movement.

In the SDS we have a clear right, a center, and a leftist-reformist wing, which is formed by the Social Democratic Party. These two differentiated formations stick together. The unity of the Communists forces the opposition to be cohesive, and vice versa. Outside these two big formations there are many others smaller ones. Probably, an ultrarightist wing will also be formed, but it is still unclear whether it will be formed under the republican or the monarchist banner.

[Herold] How would you assess the relationship between the Bulgarian Social Democrats and the Communists?

[Dertliev] As regards communism as an ideology, our attitude is completely negative. At the moment, however, the Bulgarian Communists are taking leave of their postulates. They are completely imitating all the ideas of Social Democracy. This mimicry makes our work difficult. The second problem is the Communists. They numbered about 1 million. It is very stupid to believe that one can push these people out of social life. The question is where their place is today? Some of them come to us. In this connection, there are difficulties because the large majority of our members are anticommunists. Another section of the former members of the Bulgarian Communist Party remains outside the Social Democratic Party, but they sympathize with us. Even in parliament some of the Communists voted for my candidacy as president. But the majority acted in the old Stalinist manner, following the motto that the main enemy is Social Democracy. I believe that a new leftist party will form, which will be located between the ideas of Social Democracy and of communism, but which will basically be a social democratic party. We are looking for dialogue with the forces that are willing to implement reforms and we will probably find solutions to the problems together.

[Herold] What do you expect of the forthcoming local elections?

[Dertliev] A soldier who goes into battle without being willing to win is a deserter.

Says Government Reflects Nation

AU0410094190 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 29 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Dr. Petur Dertliev, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, by Maya Lyubomirska; place and date not given: "Opposition Does Not Mean Negation"]

[Text] [Lyubomirska] Several days following the election of the new government I am trying to understand what Tsola Dragoycheva [one of the oldest party veterans and long time Bulgarian Communist Party Politburo member under Zhivkov] meant when she made the following comment: "Capable of overcoming its personal preferences for the sake of public interest."

[Dertliev] There is nothing dramatic about the election of a one-party government. It reflects the current distribution of forces in the country.

[Lyubomirska] Does this mean that we are overcoming the government crisis, though with painful efforts?

[Dertliev] Do you not see that a crisis exists? It is even worse, it is a severe government crisis. The election of the Lukanov government far from alleviates the crisis, it even aggravates it, I would say.

[Lyubomirska] Andrey Lukanov stated in one of his last addresses to parliament that not having a program is not an argument for not having a programmatic government, do you accept this statement?

[Dertliev] As a matter of fact, I do not accept it. I think that the representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] did not accept it either. I will explain why. In our country we needed a program as a basis for establishing a programmatic government, especially considering the current crisis. Considering also the lack of great political figures, we needed, first and foremost, a program as an unifying element. It is true that this is not the practice in the West. However, every minister who is proposed in those countries is a political figure in his own right and knows what he is capable of doing for his country. Prime Minister Lukanov is proposing unknown persons. I do not know what they are capable of and what they are incapable of. Therefore, the two circumstances—the deteriorating crisis as a whole, and the personality crisis, in particular—have drastically changed the situation in Bulgaria. It was imperative first of all to submit a program, a program divided into various sections, for each of which an individual personality should have been engaged. This should have been done to understand whether the program was effective and whether the people proposed were capable of working on it, so that parliament might have been able to exert its control over the implementation of it. This did not happen, which makes me think that the work of the new government has not had a good start.

Apart from the defense minister, who is known as an exceptionally capable specialist in his field, the other candidates are debatable. None of us, for example, thinks that Lyuben Gotsev is likely to improve our foreign policy relations. In addition to this, he is very closely connected with the past.

[Lyubomirska] The government is already a fact. The opposition in parliament gave its vote of confidence to Prime Minister Lukanov, and Petur Beron congratulated the new cabinet. What are you going to "forecast" to the new ministers?.

[Dertliev] That it will be the government proposing the most unpopular measures. I do not know, whether it will be capable of submitting any effective measures and of implementing them, as I already pointed out. I do not believe that the new government will last long.

[Lyubomirska] The political game of chess is now set with a classical display of figures. The government of the parliamentary majority is facing an opposition without ministerial posts. How will the SDS and its parliamentary group act in the future?

[Dertliev] We preferred the legislative initiative to the ministerial posts. In the role of the opposition, the SDS and its parliamentary group declared more than once their stand in this particularly difficult situation. We will approve all laws which are useful for the country. Opposition does not mean negation. That is our stand. We are and we will be a constructive opposition—acting with creative criticism within the framework of parliament.

This applies in particular to proposals of pseudo-measures for promptly overcoming the crisis. However, we will by no means obstruct the work for the country's restoration.

We will actively contribute to parliamentary work. I am currently submitting a draft law on the abolition of privileges, together with Kornazhev. We will really work together in trying to overcome the crisis. In parliament we intend to exert a control function.

[Lyubomirska] You were not elected president, but this fact did not affect your popularity. There are rumors that you are going to become chairman of the SDS Coordination Council?

[Dertliev] So far, I was proposed and elected to one post only—namely chairman of the Social Democratic Party—and this is what I am. I have not heard about any other nominations. I will not give up our party's leadership as long as a really young leader has not appeared.

[Lyubomirska] We had to interrupt our interview, because Dertliev was on his way to a congress in Berlin. He promised to grant us another interview in which he intends to dwell on social democracy and its developmental trends.

Beron: SDS Wants Peaceful, Nonviolent Transition

AU0410093390 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 2 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Petur Beron, chairman of Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) Coordinating Council, by Boris Chakurov; at SDS headquarters in Sofia, date not given: "Marching Toward Democracy Without Violence, but With Firm Resolve"—first paragraph is ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME introduction]

[Excerpts] The atmosphere of the relatively small and modestly furnished office on the fifth floor of 134 Rakovskiy Street in Sofia is businesslike and tense. It is not easy to "tear" Petur Beron, the chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] Coordinating Council, away from his work, despite his well-known responsiveness to journalists. He is very busy indeed, and his face is marked by the strain of coping with the numerous problems facing the country, but he has not lost his energy and sense of humor. [passage omitted]

[Chakurov] You declared at your latest news conference that it is inappropriate to intimidate the public by frequent allusions to the danger of civil war and that it is always those who possess weapons who talk about civil war.

[Beron] SDS members have no weapons. We support a peaceful, nonviolent transition to democracy. Our goals were also pointed out by the SDS parliamentary group. We insist on a specific government program and on the introduction of laws and institutions guaranteeing the development of political democracy and market economy, on the total depolitization of state institutions, on the demonopolization of the economy, and prompt application of privatization measures, on environmental protection, and on other such measures.

Naturally, we are in favor of removing the BSP from power. However, this should happen through legal, parliamentary methods, in accordance with the Constitution. The BSP should be a party like all others. Those who are guilty of crimes should stand trial. We do not demand any repressive measures. We do not want to treat people like they treated Nikola Petkov. We just demand that all crimes should be publicly denounced and subject to legal procedures.

The BSP is responsible for the country's difficult situation. It is responsible for the concentration camps. It has destroyed the lives and souls of numerous people. It is guilty of crushing the people's working energies. Communism is a fiction and an utopia, it was the most expensive social experiment in history which cost the lives of dozens of millions people! It brought misfortunes upon the Bulgarian people and caused our economic disaster. It relegated our country to the ranks of the most backward nations in Europe. Before World War II, Bulgaria was on the same level as Greece, and perhaps even a little more advanced, while today we are three to four times worse off than this neighboring country. A market economy is the natural economic system for all countries—provided that it is accompanied by certain social regulation measures—as it is the case in the FRG, Belgium, the Netherlands, and numerous other Western countries.

However, I repeat that the SDS is in favor of a sensible form of revolution, without bloodshed. Nevertheless, the country is threatened by the danger of emerging, uncontrollable, extraparliamentary and anticonstitutional forces. They may try to fish in murky waters and incite disorder, taking advantage of the social tension stemming from poverty, decline, desolation, corruption, the black market, and the food shortage. The supporters of terrorism and extremism, the elements seeking personal revenge, should be isolated. There are sufficient opportunities for expressing disagreement, such as rallies, demonstrations, and other democratic means.

[Chakurov] Many people are asking themselves when will there be an opportunity to overcome the crisis?

[Beron] It depends on future developments. If the reforms should start immediately, the country might conceive some ideas about the correct methods and opportunities within the next two to three years. However, if we should go on with half-measures, with timid and fake reforms; if the Red capitalists continue to rob state property by setting up companies at their own benefit and not for stimulating production, it will certainly take more time. In addition, privatization has not even started; neither the necessary legislation, nor any stimulating tax exemption measures for encouraging private enterprise have so far been adopted. Private land

owners should be supported, for example. This applies in particular to those who are raising cattle and should be supplied with fodder.

Our needs should also meet understanding abroad. This was mentioned during my meetings with officials in various countries. I recently visited Japan, Israel, and Portugal. If our country is left alone on its way to economic disaster, no government whatsoever would be capable of rescuing us.

[Chakurov] The agrarian sector is very important.

[Beron] Several draft laws on the land, prepared with the participation of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and of the Nikola Petkov BZNS, have already been submitted. The most useful elements in each of them should be taken into consideration and discussed, so that we may as soon as possible adopt a land law likely to provide the farmer with a clear and reliable concept on how to purchase and pay for property. It is disgraceful that a country such as ours, which used to "teach" all European countries how to grow vegetables and fruit, should import onions, potatoes, green beans, and cheese. As long as this state of affairs persists, as long as we do not increase our agricultural production, nothing will be accomplished, and we will inevitably go down the drain. [passage omitted]

[Chakurov] Do you envisage any opportunities for cooperation between the BZNS and the SDS as partners in an united opposition?

[Beron] We regard the BZNS as our ally and hope to achieve good understanding in local administration. There are no reasons that our cooperation should not continue during the forthcoming parliamentary elections. As you can see, we are sitting side by side in parliament. We are holding frequent consultations with Viktor Vulkov and other BZNS leaders. As to the question of the government, our faction held a joint meeting with the BZNS and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] parliamentary groups, and agreed on a common stand. Under these circumstances we can expect positive cooperation in the future. [passage omitted]

[Chakurov] As the leader of one of the major political forces in the country, do you have body guards?

[Beron] They were offered to me, but I refused. I am receiving threatening letters, but I am not afraid. As chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council, I use an official car with a driver.

The sources of income for the SDS are very limited. We are selling Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev's book "Fascism," for example. We have received material assistance from abroad in the form of gifts from Bulgarian residents in foreign countries—such as teletype equipment, fax machines, paper, loudspeakers, and vehicles which we used during the election campaign. We also were assisted in publishing some materials in the West. However, there can be no question of financing, or subsidies, at least, as far as I know.

[Chakurov] Your good relations with Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev are remarkable. Is it because you share the same principles and political views that you get along so well?

[Beron] We are different characters, but we share common aspirations.

[Chakurov] Do you think that people in our country are tired of politics?

[Beron] Naturally, they are rather tired. Their activities cannot always develop at the same dynamic pace. However, public life must go on in our country. People are striving for a better life and for overcoming the difficult situation.

[Chakurov] Thank you for the interview, and would you please sign an autograph for the ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME readers?

Alternative Socialist Leader on Upcoming Congress

AU0310182690 Sofia BTA in English 1651 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Oct (BTA)—"Perhaps the Alternative Socialist Party (ASP) will change its name at its congress," Prof. Dr. Nikolay Vasilev, chairman of the ASP, told journalists today. "We seriously doubt that the socialist idea is a constructive one at this stage," he underlined. In Prof. Vasilev's opinion to change the name of the ASP would be quite normal—the views of the party have evolved, it was established as an alternative of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), but at that time the BSP was a communist party.

The second congress of the ASP, founded by former communists six months ago, is to open on Saturday, October 6. It is an extraordinary one, because "the political conditions in Bulgaria are extraordinary," as its chairman put it. According to him, since its foundation, his party has been moving to the right to Social Democrats and Radical Democrats. "Now the ASP would rather join a social democratic bloc with Dr. Petur Dertliev's Bulgarian Social Democratic Party as its basis, and it would not refuse to establish contacts with parties sharing similar ideology—the Radical Democratic Party and the Green Party," Prof. Vasilev said. In his opinion it is too early for the proposal of his father academician Kiril Vasilev—also a philosopher, to establish a democratic political centre outside the BSP and the opposition united in the Union of Democratic Forces.

Opposition Condemns BSP Attack on TV Management

AU0310220190 Sofia BTA in English 2113 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Oct (BTA)—Representatives of the opposition political forces in the Grand National Assembly condemned yesterday's declaration of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) in which the Bulgarian Television was accused of being partial and of "waging an open war against the party of the Bulgarian Socialists, the DUMA paper and its editor-in-chief."

"The fact that in its broadcasts the television exposes the deformity of our life caused by the long rule of the Communist Party does not mean that it is partial," Mr. Mikhail Nedelchev, spokesman for the Union of Democratic Forces, stated. "Wherever we turn our eyes to, we see the plague the Bulgarian citizens have got into. Should we blame the people working at the television for systematically revealing the shortcomings in our life? It is not partiality, but honesty and professionalism, an attempt to help the country overcome the crisis. I make a categorical protest against the attempts to qualify the consistent work of the journalists of the Bulgarian Television as party biases," he underlined.

Mr. Georgi Khinchev, spokesman for the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), defined the BSP declaration as provocative.

"The BSP leadership keep saying that the radio and television should be independent and non-partisan, but at the same time they take the liberty of demanding the resignation of the management of the television. What would happen if the other political forces make the same demand," Mr. Khinchev asked. In his opinion the BSP cannot shake off the mentor's tone used by the former Communist Party for 20 years, when the Bulgarian Television was a mere tool in its hands.

"Only the Grand National Assembly is entitled to assess the work of the television and to decide who should manage it," the BZNS spokesman pointed out.

Lukanov Discusses Wage Indexing, Gulf Crisis

AU0210214090 Sofia BTA in English 1953 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Oct (BTA)—Mr. Andrey Lukanov told the press today that the economic reform has to be radicalized to meet the objective conditions.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers linked the economic reform with the introduction of market mechanisms. He praised the programme for a revision of economic conditions in this country, worked out jointly by Bulgarian and U.S. experts under Dr. Richard Rahn, vice president and chief economist of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The head of government believes, however, that the draft is too "academic" and seeks to evolve an ideal version of a market economy which, as he put it, is hardly to be found anywhere. Mr. Lukanov described as "too radical" the programme views of the economic role of the state and said that if the suggested currency regulations are introduced, the Bulgarian lev will be practically liquidated and the national economy will turn into an appendage of the world money market.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov discussed wage indexing, a central question of economic reform. The international institutions take a negative view of indexing. He emphasized that the government has not given up the idea of indexing because a large part of the population in the country lives below the minimum of subsistence, but indexing should be introduced parallel to other economic measures.

The prime minister expressed the hope that the views of his government will be upheld before the International Monetary Fund and the international experts but, at the same time, he predicted that the talks on the matter will be difficult.

At the news conference, the Podkrepa Labour Confederation circulated a press release levelling accusations at the government in connection with the wage indexing and urging for its immediate introduction. Otherwise, the independent trade unions threaten to take protest action which would gradually affect more and more businesses.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov discussed the possibility to deploy Bulgarian troops in the Persian Gulf, which was stated by the Bulgarian head of state Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev in the United States, in connection with plans for a collective action under UN auspices and with a resolution on the matter of the UN Security Council.

Mr. Lukanov recalled that in a message to Soviet president Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, which the Bulgarian prime minister delivered during his visit to Moscow last week, the Bulgarian head of state Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev raised the question about this country's national security and territorial integrity. Mr. Lukanov said that Mr. Gorbachev reaffirmed the USSR commitments within the Warsaw Treaty framework as well as the ones assumed on a bilateral basis.

The maintenance of peace and calm in the Balkans and the Mediterranean is in the vital interests of the Soviet Union, Mr. Lukanov said.

The prime minister expressed the view that a linkage of the Gulf Crisis with the Middle East conflict would not help an early settlement in these two trouble spots and that problems should be solved in keeping with the conditions under which they have arisen.

Wage Indexing Urged With Trade Unions

AU0310213990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] A meeting was held in Sofia today between representatives of the government, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, and the National Union of Economic Leaders.

The three sides signed an agreement on settling certain severe social problems caused by the growing economic crisis. Agreement was also reached on the conditions for compensation in accordance with the Council of Ministers decree on creating conditions for the implementation in practice of indexing the incomes of the population in the following manner.

In the (?various) organizations, compensation will be received in the pay for October; in the case of pensions, these will be paid in November at the updated rates, and in December compensation supplements will be paid. In the case of workers in companies, the payments will be made as far as possible in the salaries for October.

In accordance with item six of the agreement, the parties agreed to start negotiations on bringing the indexation system into line with the adoption of the government's economic reform program by the Grand National Assembly, with the new economic and social legislation, and with the results of the forthcoming talks with the IMF and other international organizations.

A statute was adopted on the activity of the Public [word indistinct] Council on Indexing the Incomes of the Population created by the decree and on its membership.

The Council of Ministers decree on indexing the incomes of the population will be published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in the near future.

Assembly Discusses Law Against Speculation

AU0310220290 Sofia BTA in English 2022 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Oct (BTA)—Today the Bulgarian parliament considered a package of important draft laws. The parliamentarians adopted at first reading the bill on extraordinary measures against speculation and a related bill respectively amending the penal code. Many M.P.'s underlined that the bills would not provide a lasting solution to the serious problem profiteering is—"It could be solved only through the implementation of a radical economic reform," they pointed out.

Some M.P.'s consider that the fines envisaged by the bills from 1,000 to 10,000 leva are too low and pleaded for taking more severe measures. Mr. Pencho Penev, minister of the interior, moved for including in the bill "the organized criminality, the existence of which in the field of speculation is a fact." Another M.P. insisted on making provisions for sanctions against foreign profiteers: extradition from the country and prohibition to visit it for a certain period of time. Mr. Ivan Tenev, former [as received] minister of economics and planning, warned that the matter should be treated very carefully, because the new bill "might deliver a blow on the transition to a market economy."

Report on Ministry's Law, Order Announcement

AU0410093090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Sep 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The Ministry of Internal Affairs Will Not Allow Violations of Law and Order"]

[Text] On 27 September 1990 a student "sit-in" was announced at the semi-higher institute for teachers in Smolyan. Tents were set up in front of the educational establishment. These actions violated public order and created tension, an announcement of the Ministry of Internal affairs reads. After talks with representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the leadership of the institute, and with the cooperation of the political forces in the city, the tents and the sit-in positions were removed.

Very decisive and uncompromising measures for restoring order will be adopted in all such actions which violate the country's laws and public order, the announcement reads. The Ministry of Internal Affairs has decided to strictly implement the government instruction to guarantee law and order in the country within the framework of the existing laws.

The government and the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will rely on the active cooperation and understanding of the political forces in the country. They are convinced that the political forces will act in a preventive manner and will not allow illegal actions which violate the law and disturb the country's public order and tranquility.

The announcement is signed by Pencho Penev, minister of internal affairs.

Dienstbier Addresses CSCE Meeting in New York

LD0310060290 Prague CTK in English 2126 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] New York Oct 2 (CTK correspondent)—Building a new Europe will not be successful if it does not generate an all-European economic and social equilibrium, Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said at today's meeting of the CSCE foreign ministers here.

He hoped that the document from the coming CSCE summit in Paris in November will express readiness of Europe's advanced industrial countries to create a favourable external climate for the Central and East European countries on their road toward market economy. It would be tragic if the new democracies were suffocated by an economic failure after they have covered a long road towards freedom.

One of the fundamental pillars of security in new Europe will be the prepare treaty on conventional armed forces, Jiri Dienstbier said.

The minister stressed the importance of the Helsinki process which significantly contributed to the revolutionary changes in Central and Eastern Europe. The Czechoslovak human rights movement Charter 77, Polish Solidarity, Soviet and other Helsinki-based groups whose struggle prompted the changes leaned in their activity on the Helsinki Final Act, Jiri Dienstbier stressed.

He hoped that the member countries of the Warsaw Pact will come to the Paris summit of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation already as members of a qualitatively new, practically exclusively political grouping whose military structures will be dismantled very soon.

Communications Network Joins European Commission

AU0310083390 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 27 Sep 90 p 2

[CTK report in the "Mirror of the Day" column]

[Text] Czechoslovak communications became a member organization of CEPT, the European Postal and Telecommunications Commission, yesterday, permitting its integration into the European communication network.

International School Opens in North Moravia

AU0410073190 Brno CTK in English 1658 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Brno Oct 1 (CTK)—Professors from Great Britain, Canada, Japan, and the United States will lecture on international trade, marketing, finance, the European Economic Community, etc. at the Masaryk International School of Management which opened today in Frenstat pod Radhostem, North Moravia.

Some 30 Czech and Slovak university graduates started their lessons which will run for one year.

Economist Daniel Borsuk of London, who helped establish this school, told CTK that it is the first in the Central European countries.

Vacek Cited on Troops for Gulf, Other Issues

LD0210173390 Prague CTK in English 1635 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava Oct 2 (CTK)—A total of 170 Czechoslovak volunteers from units of Health Service and Antichemical Defence, half of them career soldiers, are being readied for possible sending to Saudi Arabia, Czechoslovak Defence Minister Army General Miroslav Vacek said at a press conference here today.

The final decision, however, rests with the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament), the minister added.

Speaking about changes taking place in the Czechoslovak Army, the minister listed mainly democratization and humanization of military service, reduction of the number of military exercises, introduction of alternative civil service, and others. The minister also informed journalists that some units in Slovakia will move to other places and will be sheltered in establishments vacated by Soviet troops. (The Soviet Army used them after the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 which crushed the revival process in the country. Earlier this year an agreement was reached between Czechoslovakia and the USSR under which the Soviet troops have started leaving Czechoslovakia. The withdrawal is to be completed by mid-1991.)

Speaking about international relations, Minister Vacek pointed out mainly to his recent talks with Hungarian Defence Minister Lajos Fur and Polish National Defence Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk in connection with transformation of the Warsaw Pact. Important were also talks with representatives of the British, Italian and other armies, Miroslav Vacek said.

He noted that possibilities are being sought to compensate former career soldiers who had to leave the army in the years 1968-1969 and also earlier in the 1950's for political conviction, now members of the Military Revival (Obroda) Association. Applications for rehabilitation have been lodged by some 10,000 people.

Speaking about the Free Legion Movement whose representatives seek departure of the Czechoslovak defence minister and leadership of the Czechoslovak Army from their posts, Miroslav Vacek said its members are ambitious people who are striving for popularity at the cost of the army.

Leaders To Ask for Meeting With USSR on Oil

LD0310181990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, had a working meeting today at Prague Castle with Federal Premier Marian Calfa, Czech Premier Petr Pithart, and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar. In the presence of governmental economic ministers and the president's economic adviser, the three discussed the situation caused by the increasing shortfall in the deliveries of oil from the Soviet Union. They stated that a continuation of this state of affairs could lead to an exceptional economic situation in Czechoslovakia.

The three have agreed to ask for a summit meeting with Soviet representatives to be held as soon as possible, with the aim of moderating the consequences for our population due to the worsening deliveries.

USSR Seen as Source of Oil After Gulf Cuts

AU0210104490 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 28 Sep 90 p 1

[Dagmar Truncova commentary: "Hope for Crude Oil?"]

[Text] In the event of war in the Persian Gulf (and as a result of a sharp increase in crude oil prices), economic growth in developed Western countries would slow down by one percent, according to economists. Former socialist countries, however, would evidently have to pay a very high price for the military conflict. Even the trade embargo declared against Iraq is being felt unfavorably by their weak economies. Losses following the embargo result from the fact that these countries have lost an opportunity for exporting their goods to Iraq and Kuwait and, therefore, they have lost part of their income in foreign currencies; they also have lost their crude oil deliveries, as well as the repayment of Iraqi debts, which could have been repaid in crude oil.

During the 10-year war between Saddam Husayn and Iran, our communist regime supplied Iraq with weapons, machines, and equipment—mostly on credit. Iraq owes Czechoslovakia—according to data provided by the Federal Ministry of Finance spokesman—about $1 billion (Hungary about $145 million, Romania $1.7 billion, Poland $500 million, and Bulgaria $1.2 billion). We expected that the debt would be paid in crude oil deliveries, deliveries that are so much desired following the cutback in Soviet deliveries. The unattainability of Iraqi crude oil is, in fact, another energy shock (the first one was the Soviet decision to cut back on deliveries) for our country, as well as for other East European countries. The shock is even amplified by the fact that the crude oil price on the world market doubled compared to its price level before the outbreak of Persian Gulf crisis. Therefore, we will have to buy crude oil with hard currency, even from the Soviet Union.

This is only one side of the coin. The other pertains to trade with Iraq and Kuwait, and eventually to our exports to these countries. Iraq paid—when it did—in convertible currency. Last year's Czechoslovak exports to Iraq represented, expressed in dollar terms, $46.6 million in the first half of the year. Despite the fact that exports dropped this year (evidently also because our exports of weapons have ceased), their value represented at least $8.5 million prior to July. This value is zero today, of course. Other losses were caused by the interruption of trade with Kuwait.

Let us return to the subject of crude oil. The impact caused by lower Soviet deliveries is no less. According to an agreement, we should have imported 16.6 million tonnes of crude oil from the USSR—the deficit will exceed the previously reported 2.5 million tonnes, however. According to Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales, we can expect that, at government level, we will get enough crude oil from the Soviet Union next year to cover, at best, approximately one-half of our needs. Assurances that there are opportunities to import crude oil from Mexico or Venezuela are not to be dismissed; nevertheless crude oil will become significantly more expensive because of transportation. Mexico is willing to accept some of our equipment in return for crude oil. Venezuela, however, is interested in payments in convertible currency.

This is why I consider other opportunities for acquiring crude oil to be very interesting, opportunities which Vaclav Vales spoke about when he returned from the Moscow talks— direct contacts with the Soviet Union's republics. The Russian Federation, for example, expressed interest in cooperating directly in crude oil extraction in the form of a joint enterprise or in the form of leasing oil deposits. Apart from this, the Russian Federation could offer a sufficient quantity of crude oil in exchange for our participation in the reconstruction of its food industry. I believe that this is an opportunity that we should not waste, not only because of crude oil, but also because of our industry. Why leave Japanese, American, or other firms too much room for their activity on the Soviet market—they are extraordinarily interested in it—when we have acquired some experience (including bad experience) there during the past 40 years. Why not make use of this, particularly if the opportunity of getting crude oil arises at the same time.

Calfa Interviewed on Present Oil Supplies

LD0310204990 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Interview with Federal Premier Marian Calfa by unidentified interviewer on 3 October; place not given—recorded, with introduction by announcer; announcer and interviewer in Czech, Calfa in Slovak]

[Text] [Announcer] President Vaclav Havel met at Prague Castle today with Federal Premier Marian Calfa, premiers of both national governments, economic advisers, and ministers to discuss behind closed doors

the situation that has arisen because of continual cuts in oil supplies from the Soviet Union.

[Interviewer] Mr. Premier, this morning's radio newscasts described today's discussion as a crisis staff meeting. And hence my question: Did this discussion actually deal with the crisis situation, or was it a normal working meeting between the premiers and the president?

[Calfa] I wish to confirm that an emergency discussion did, indeed, take place. All three premiers and the heads of government economic teams met with the president and his economic advisers. The topic of our discussion was the situation regarding oil supplies in Czechoslovakia. The composition of this team itself indicates that this was an emergency [mimoriadna] situation. The reason for the development of this situation was that, according original trade agreements, the Soviet Union was to supply a little over 4 million tonnes of oil in the fourth quarter. At the end of summer it was agreed to maintain the supplies at a level reduced by approximately 1 million tonnes. This is, of course, the minimum level for the basic functioning of the entire oil industry in Czechoslovakia.

Recently we have been noticing further cuts in supplies and this is, indeed, causing certain worries and an emergency situation in Czechoslovakia. According to the conclusion of our talks I shall ask the Soviet ambassador to pass on a request that the Czechoslovak delegation headed by the president of the republic and consisting of myself and the representatives of the governments be received at a top level in the Soviet Union, that is by the Soviet president and Soviet Prime Minister Ryzhkov as soon as possible.

I naturally do not wish to dramatize this conclusion, but the composition of the delegation indicates that this action by the Soviet Union could result in an emergency situation in Czechoslovakia as far as oil supplies are concerned.

[Interviewer] It could, of course happen—all of us are aware of the current economic situation in the Soviet Union—that these talks might not turn out as you would like. Has the government, the federal government, drawn up an alternative solution?

[Calfa] At today's session we also set up a small group consisting of senior ministers of all three governments who are drafting various options of further action, ranging from the worst case scenario right to up normal action. At any rate, certain measures will have to be adopted in our national economy, as far as oil supplies are concerned, because, let's face it, we have less oil and its expensive and thus we shall have to announce some economy programs.

[Interviewer] What will be affected by these programs?

[Calfa] Well, on the one hand we proceed from the premise that Czechoslovakia and its entire chemical production are organized in a way that results in exceptionally great oil consumption, that oil is also used in other industries, that it is ever used for making coke and lastly, that other articles are also made from it. Naturally, the entire concept of production will have to be fundamentally reevaluated.

Calfa Envisages Decision on Polish Border Traffic

LD0110194790 Prague CTK in English 1359 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa said in parliament today that the Czechoslovak Government would make a definitive decision on the question of resuming limited cross-border contacts between Czechoslovakia and Poland and opening the orders to tourist traffic by the end of October.

Resuming limited cross-border contacts has been a controversial issue in Czechoslovakia as on the one hand, there is the opinion that barriers to mutual contacts are politically intolerable while, on the other hand, there is concern that the opening of the borders might be damaging to the Czechoslovak market in view of the unfavourable exchange rate between the Czechoslovak and Polish currencies.

Calfa recalled the government's resolution expressing Czechoslovakia's readiness to resume cross-border traffic and said that representatives of the finance ministries and banks of the two countries would meet in Poland today and tomorrow to discuss ways of setting an appropriate tourist exchange rate.

Calfa also said the government intends to abolish as soon as possible the provision requiring an invitation from Czechoslovakia for Poles visiting Czechoslovakia but the proper economic and technical conditions for this have not yet been created.

Some of the deputies to the Federal Assembly argued that the resumption of cross-border contacts would disrupt food supplies in some border regions.

Foreign Ministry Statement on Contacts With Poland

AU0310083190 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 27 Sep 90 p 7

[CTK report: "On Small Cross-Border Contacts"]

[Text] A spokesman for the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement to CTK yesterday, which states among other things:

The ministry and Minister Dienstbier personally have been receiving many letters from Czechoslovak citizens, groups of citizens, and organizations in recent weeks in connection with the Czechoslovak-Polish talks on tourism between the two countries and the resumption of the so-called small cross-border contacts. The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs is of the opinion that a

continuation of the present situation whereby contacts between citizens of the two states are impeded by a number of barriers is politically unsustainable. A possible misuse of the "opening" of borders between the CSFR and Poland must be prevented primarily by financial, exchange rate, customs, and other measures of an economic nature. These measures are being worked on very intensively and responsibly by groups of experts, in cooperation with representatives of the Polish Republic.

Poll Shows Opposition to Open Border With Poland

AU0210110790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Sep 90 p 5

[CTK report: "Views on Contacts With Poland"]

[Text] Views on the resumption of small cross-border traffic between the CSFR and Poland were surveyed by Quasar, Institute for Consultancy and Social Analysis based in Olomouc, on 15 and 16 September.

Of the 600 respondents from districts which border on Poland, the majority reject the preference of the political aspect of the resumption of small cross-border traffic at the expense of economic considerations. People consider the fixing of an acceptable rate of exchange of the koruna against the zloty to be the basic condition [for lifting restrictions on travel between Czechoslovakia and Poland]. The closer to the border with the Polish Republic one gets, the more negative is the stance of the public and the greater the emphasis put on economic considerations. About one-half of those questioned believe that the resumption of cross-border contacts will not contribute to an improvement in relations between the CSFR and Poland. About 60 percent of respondents do not see any benefits at all in the resumption of cross-border contacts.

Brazil's Collor Continues First Visit in History

Exchanges Dinner Toasts With Havel

LD0210081890 Prague Television Service in Czech 2105 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] The two statesmen, President Vaclav Havel and President Fernando de Mello Collor, met in Rudolph Hall at Prague Castle for a gala dinner given in honor of the Brazilian president. Both of them delivered toasts.

Vaclav Havel began by saying that the first visit of the head of the Brazilian state in Czechoslovakia's entire history is, for all of us, a real honor, and that our capital thus becomes the door for the entry of the biggest Latin American country to Europe.

There are certain similarities in the historical and cultural traditions of our two countries, said Vaclav Havel. Be it your independence struggle, which culminated not so long before we achieved our independence, or the political line of the development of creative abilities of the Brazilian people, headed by Juscelino Kubitschek, who was born in South Bohemia when Czechoslovakia suffered under Stalinist ideology.

In the context of the concept of radical economic and administration reforms in Brazil, Vaclav Havel literally said: I wish that much of your proverbial temperament could be transferred to our blood, since we are so weighed down by the numbing impotence and aparthy of the past communist era.

As far as Czechoslovakia's efforts to join the European Communities, it does not mean turning our back on the countries geographically far away from us, said the Czechoslovak president. Brazil, with its enormous industrial and raw material potential, has all the preconditions to become one of our most important economic partners outside Europe.

Fernando Collor then stressed, in the beginning of his toast, that the motive for his selecting, from all of Europe, precisely our country as a place to which he paid his first visit were the values and ideas by which the Czechoslovak president is guided, and which reflect the new way to make policy and international relations.

Since his victory in the presidential elections in November last year, Fernando Collor has been aiming his efforts, as we do, at a democratic state system based on pluralism of views and political parties, on the evaluation of the initiative of each individual, and on the objectives of the market. The Brazilian president said that this system must be conditioned by a strict [word indistinct] morale, by conscience, and consistent adherence to human rights.

In connection with the program of economic changes in his country, Fernando Collor said that these changes should reduce drastic inflation, liberate the market, reduce the contribution of the state to production, and incorporate Brazil into international economic and finance communities.

The aspects to which we shall pay prime attention in our relations will be the forming of joint enterprises, cooperation in production of consumer goods, equipment, automation of banking and trade, as well as development in the sphere of culture, where we wish to follow your rich cultural potential.

Discusses Cooperation With Calfa

LD0210124590 Prague CTK in English 1112 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 2 (CTK)—Visiting Brazilian President Ferdinando Collor received Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa at his Prague Castle residence this morning.

They spoke about economic cooperation saying that the two countries' economic contacts must be elevated to higher forms, i.e. cooperation and joint ventures. As

regards concrete possibilities of mutual trade the Brazilian side showed interest inter alia in imports of Czechoslovak trams.

Czechoslovakia can offer its experiences, for example, in power engineering, and Brazil in electronics, technologies, automation of the financial system, etc. A scope for closer economic contacts is thus being opened.

Fernando Collor invited a Czechoslovak Government delegation to pay an official visit to Brazil as soon as possible.

Participating in the meeting were also Brazilian Foreign Minister Francisco Rezek and Czechoslovak First Deputy Foreign Minister Robert Harencar.

Meets Havel on World 'Polarization'

LD0210201290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Official talks took place in Prague Castle this afternoon between CSFR President Vaclav Havel and Fernando Collor, president of the Federative Republic of Brazil.

Press spokesman Michael Zantovsky said both presidents talked about overcoming world polarization and about the new polarity that will accompany disarmament, in which the countries of the former Third World will be equal partners.

Vaclav Havel said he hopes that a family of the world's nations that think well of the earth will be established.

The Brazilian president invited Vaclav Havel to visit Brazil.

Press Release Summarizes Overall Talks

LD0210205690 Prague CTK in English 1806 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 2 (CTK)—A press release issued in conclusion of Brazilian President Fernando Collor's visit to Czechoslovakia tonight said the presidents of the two countries hold identical views on a number of international issues.

President Collor emphasized the significance of Czechoslovak initiatives to develop the Helsinki process and stressed the interest in a stable structure of Central and East European countries. President Vaclav Havel appreciated the positive aspects of establishing a zone of peace and cooperation in the southern Atlantic. Both presidents favoured equal incorporation of all countries into decision-making about disarmament and said they were against spreading the arms race into outer space. They confirmed their countries' endorsement of the principles of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

The two statesmen said they were resolved to protect human rights, and stated that the growing gap between advanced and developing countries threatens the world's stability. They stressed the need for a comprehensive solution to foreign indebtedness, while national sovereignty and the need to restore economic development of the indebted countries should be respected.

Presidents Collor and Havel condemned the continued Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, and called for the restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty in line with UN resolutions.

Meciar Explains Absence From Dinner

LD0210220790 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Brazilian president's visit to Czechoslovakia was one of the topics discussed at the regular briefing by Michal Zantovskiy, press spokesman of the president of the republic. He thus responded to yesterday's speech by Premier Vladimir Meciar in the Slovak parliament, in which he criticized the cancellation of the Brazilian head of state's trip to Bratislava.

[Begin Zantovskiy recording, in Czech] Premier Meciar and Mr. Miklosko [speaker of the Slovak National Council] were informed by the Office of the President of the republic that the visit would take only one day. The duration of the visit was then further reduced, since Mr. Collor must return to Brazil because of the Brazilian municipal elections and both Mr. Meciar and Mr. Miklosko accepted this explanation. Despite this they failed to turn out without a single word of apology at the dinner given by the president of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. We think that this kind of conduct is not beneficial to Czechoslovakia's international reputation and we think that this kind of conduct does not enhance confidence in the words of leading Slovak representative about their desire to have an authentic federation. [end recording]

[Announcer] In this contest we also spoke to Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar today.

[Begin Meciar recording, in Slovak] Our nonattendence in the talks, or rather at the gala dinner was not motivated by a protest but by the debates at the Slovak National Council and the conflicts which it was thought would take place there. There were indications that this might happen and this led to the fact that we decided to stay put and (?hold the fort). [end recording]

Signs Joint Trade Agreement

PY0310014490 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2200 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Report by Giselle Dutra from Prague]

[Excerpt] On the last day of his official visit to Czechoslovakia, President Collor met with Prime Minister Marian Calfa and visited the General Assembly and an exhibition about Brasilia in a cultural center. President Collor also signed trade agreements with the Czechoslovakian Government that foresee a $1 billion exchange before the year 2000. The Brazilian president also signed

an agreement on installation of a tram system in the metropolitan area of Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais. President Collor was in Czechoslovakia for two days. [passage omitted]

Havel Congratulates FRG's Von Weizsaecker

LD0310112790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] President Vaclav Havel has sent a telegram of congratulations to Richard von Weizsaecker, FRG president, on the unification of Germany. In it he expressed his happiness at the unification of the two German states and declared that this is the final end to the war, which also severely affected our country because of fascism. The unnatural division of Germany today becomes a thing of the past, as does the division of our continent, he said. I see a firm guarantee of good-neighborly relations between Germany and Czechoslovakia, both in our traditional friendship and mutual cooperation and in democracy, of which you yourself are a fine representative and defender, Vaclav Havel said in the telegram.

Prague Reportedly Looking for FRG Investors

AU0310113690 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 28-29 Sep 90 p 9

["kv" report: "Prague Looking for Partners"]

[Text] Duesseldorf, 27 September—The CSFR is waiting for FRG investors and partners for cooperation projects. The country is certainly not an uninteresting location for business, Embassy Councilor Pavel Kafka said, at the same time, pointing out that a bilateral investment protection agreement has been initialed and will be signed as soon as possible. There are fewer FRG companies than U.S., Canadian, Japanese, Korean, and Italian companies that are interested in the CSFR market. Kafka, who is the head of the economic department of the CSFR Embassy in Bonn, said on the occasion of an event organized by the German Machine Building and Installation Construction Association (VDMA) in Duesseldorf. However, the state, which is in the process of being restructured, can be helped, above all, by partners which—like the Germans—have a traditionally strong market position and good knowledge of the country. What the CSFR economy needs are not necessarily billions in loans—even though such loans would also be used in a sensible way—but, above all, economic and organizational know-how, proper management, specified capital participation to raise the technical level, and functioning cooperation relations with foreign companies. Soon a "Foreign Investment Agency" will be founded, which will be subordinate to the CSFR Economics Ministry and will give advice to interested people from abroad.

According to information available, the country's industrial production declined by 3.2 percent during the first eight months. One reason was the deliberate cut-back on coal production by 10.2 percent.

Embassy in GDR Will 'Cease To Exist' 3 Oct

LD0110222290 Prague CTK in English 1832 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 1 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry today announced that the Czechoslovak Embassy in the GDR will cease to exist on October 3, 1990. It will be turned into a Berlin-based branch of the Czechoslovak Embassy in the FRG.

Bonn remains the seat of the Czechoslovak Embassy in the FRG.

The Foreign Ministry statement further said that the Czechoslovak military mission, including a consular department, stops its activities in West Berlin on October 3, 1990. Consular affairs will be handled by a consular department of the Czechoslovak Embassy branch in Berlin.

Validity of Tuzex Vouchers Expires 1 Jan 91

AU0210105190

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 26 September on page 1 carries a 300-word "ke"-signed report entitled "Tuzex Vouchers About To Expire." The report states that, according to information which PRAVDA received from the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, Tuzex vouchers—the equivalent of foreign exchange used in a special network of shops selling imported goods—will cease to be valid on 1 January 1991. Effective that day, all prices in Tuzex shops will be converted from Tuzex korunas to German marks at a rate of exchange valid at the end of December 1990. People who hold Tuzex vouchers or accounts in Tuzex korunas will be able to convert them to German marks at the same rate of exchange.

First German Bank Opens Branch in Prague

AU0110220390 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 28 Sep 90 p 8

["(MSK)"-signed report: "The First German Bank"]

[Text] A representative office of the first German bank—the Dresdner Bank—was ceremonially opened in Prague yesterday. The bank will be temporarily situated in the Palace Hotel. "By taking this step we want to make our traditionally good economic ties with Czechoslovakia even more dynamic," said Bernhard Walter, a member of the Dresdner Bank's board of directors, at a gala reception held on this occasion in the Valdstejn Palace. At the same time, he stressed that he views Czechoslovakia's future development with optimism. According to Guenter Kawalek, head of the representative office, the main task of the Prague branch lies in developing closer commercial contacts with Czechoslovak banks and, within the framework of economic reform, in assisting the creation of a real banking system in our country.

MNI Dissociates Itself From Attack of Meciar

AU0210115590 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 27 Sep 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Hungarian Independent Initiative Dissociates Itself"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] As Karoly Toth, representative of the Hungarian Independent Initiative [MNI], told us on the telephone in response to our question, MNI does not agree with Duray's assessment of the personality of Mr. Meciar and considers the premier to be the representative of a positive national and social program and a counterweight to nationalist forces in Slovakia.

Hungarian Christian Democrats Reject Statement

AU0310184990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 29 Sep 90 p 1

[Statement issued by the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement: "V. Meciar Is the Legitimate Slovak Premier"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement Presidium regrets that at a roundtable meeting organized by the Hungarian Cultural Center in Prague on 26 September 1990, Dr. Miklos Duray, chairman of the Egyutteles-Coexistence movement, announced that he considers "Mr. Meciar to be an illegitimate premier...." As deputies from the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement were present at the meeting, we consider it important to state that we distance ourselves from the point of view expressed by Dr. Miklos Duray.

On behalf of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement: Engineer Bela Bugar, chairman; Dr. Ferenc Szocs, deputy chairman; Laszlo Rajczy, first secretary; Engineer Jozef Lapos and Engineer Jozef Agardy, members of the Presidium; and Dr. Peter Puspoki Nagy, independent senior adviser.

Consul in Bratislava Interviewed on Relations

AU0410111690 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Oct 90 p 6

[Report on interview with Jeno Boros, consul general to Bratislava, by Tibor Kis in Bratislava on October 1990: "The Slovak Connection Has Been Revalued"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] The events of the past weeks and months have given new importance to Slovakia in the eyes of Hungary's foreign policy. The Hungarian consul general to Bratislava is one of the most important people dealing directly with Hungary's past and present tense relations with Slovakia. A new consul general has been appointed, merely a year after the last appointment: The new leadership of the Foreign Ministry recently made Jeno Boros consul general to Bratislava. Jeno Boros is 40 years old, he is a career diplomat, and he already served two long periods in Czechoslovakia, first in Prague and then in Bratislava. He left the Slovak capital two years ago, as consul, and he has now returned as consul general. [passage omitted]

[Kis] Hungary has had lively links with Slovakia, even at times when relations have been more tense than usual. At the moment, mutual trust is particularly important....

[Boros] I see it as my fundamental duty to further close, friendly, good-neighborly cooperation based on mutual trust. The Hungarian Government has repeatedly said that it does not want to forcibly change our national borders. A few days ago, in relation to this issue, a Slovak leader said to me: "All right, you do not want to force through a change, but perhaps you will use peaceful means?" I told him that the latter was possible, but only in the sense that we want to simplify the crossing of our mutual border, we want to make it "light and airy," and we want it to connect us, rather than divide us. France and Germany, which used to be great rivals, have established good relations, and we would like the same thing to happen to our two countries.

[Kis] Would that be possible?

[Boros] I think it would be possible. Of course, several factors slow the process. For example, both countries are going through a transitional phase. The new regime has not yet been consolidated in Slovakia, either. The government coalition is trying to find its place, and it is learning about the duties involved in governing a state. The situation is made even more complicated by the fact that Slovakia has been late in finding its identity as a nation. We are aware of the possible ensuing drawbacks—namely xenophobia—an exaggerated emphasis on the national language, nationalism, and perhaps even chauvinism. All these factors are currently to be found here. As I see it, the Slovak leadership is in a difficult situation. It has to fight for further democratization, and it should be pushing anti-democratic forces into a corner. According to many people, this domestic political fight can only continue on the basis of compromise. It also cannot be ignored that these developments make the Czech and Slovak Federation tense. I think that the maintenance of this federation is in the common interest of all European nations. It is the Czech and Slovak people, however, who have to decide how their coexistence is going to continue.

[Kis] Without a doubt, this is an internal Czech-Slovak affair. However, the visible increase in anti-Hungarian sentiments in Slovakia also directly concerns us. What can the Hungarian Government do?

[Boros] Hungary does not have economic, ideological, political, or other means with which it could directly influence any of its neighbors. In essence, we can base ourselves on the fact that our declared aims and concepts are identical, and that both countries want to progress on the road to Europe. Furthermore, we try as hard as possible to have good-neighborly relations. I think that anti-Hungarian sentiments could be diluted. [passage omitted]

[Boros] I think that problems which spark off emotions should be discussed and solved by expert committees, first of all. Following that, an opinion—hopefully, a joint opinion—should be announced to the public. There would probably be a lot of compromise involved, but that is better for our cooperation than if we continually reproach each other for all our tensions and past problems.

[Kis] How do you assess the situation of Hungarians in Slovakia?

[Boros] I think that people are rather uncertain at the moment. Anti-Hungarian sentiments have grown livelier in many ways; they have become a public matter, and that is a disturbing fact. I am confident that this primarily manifests itself in propaganda, rather than in actual life and actual practice. After all, the economic and social situation of the Hungarian minority here is not too alarming. There is more concern about fostering their national culture and mother tongue. Hungarians in Slovakia are the loyal citizens of their country, namely the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. That is why, in the spirit of democracy, the new democratic government should guarantee the same rights for Hungarians as it does for the majority; it should guarantee complete equality, and it should allow the national minority to satisfy its own requirements. If this happens, then the border between our two countries will be peaceful, neighborly, calm, and easily crossed.

Visas Abolished for Irish Citizens

AU0210135690 Prague CTK in English 1738 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sep 28 (CTK)— The Czechoslovak Government today decided to cancel visa duty for Irish citizens travelling to Czechoslovakia from October 1, 1990.

It reacted to Ireland's decision to abolish visa practice for Czechoslovak citizens by September 17, 1990.

UK Defense Secretary Arrives on Official Visit

LD0310221490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Thomas King, secretary of state for defense of Great Britain, arrived in Prague today on an official visit after visiting the Soviet Union and Hungary. At the airport he was met by Army General Miroslav Vacek, federal minister of defense. This is the first visit from Great Britain at this level and the second from NATO countries.

Dienstbier, UK's Hurd Discuss Economies

LD0310113290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0900 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, deputy premier of the Czechoslovak Government, minister of foreign affairs, met in New York with Douglas Hurd, British secretary for foreign affairs. He informed him about the implementation of economic reform in our country and about difficulties caused by the enormous rise in world oil prices, the reduction in the Soviet supplies of this raw material, and the failure of former GDR subjects to keep to contracts.

Douglas Hurd emphasized that Western states are evaluating economic measures for the benefit of stabilization of the economies of new democracies including Czechoslovakia.

Dienstbier Meets Japan's Nakayama in New York

LD0210040590 Prague CTK in English 2116 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] New York Oct 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier meet here today with his Japanese counterpart Taro Nakayama.

The Japanese minister told him that by December 15, 1990 Japan would submit to Czechoslovakia a liberalized list of strategic goods which falls under the COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] limits. He asked Czechoslovakia to prepare concrete demands for the group of 24 developed states which will meet at a working session probably on October 10.

On September 19, Dienstbier asked for extraordinary steps by the 24 to help the Czechoslovak economy face problems as a result of the strict observance of the UN economic embargo against Iraq.

Mr. Nakayama appreciated Czechoslovakia's offer to send an anti-chemical unit to the Persian Gulf. He announced that Japan is ready to sign with Czechoslovakia an agreement on the protection of investments.

Havel Meets Chile's Pinochet in New York

AU0410085590 Prague PRACE in Czech 2 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

["kjk"-signed report: "Success Overseas"]

[Excerpts] Prague—CSFR President Vaclav Havel returned to Prague yesterday morning, tired from the blitz visit to the New York summit for children but in an optimistic mood stemming from his talks and bilateral negotiations with leading world politicians. [passage omitted]

Shortly before departing New York, Vaclav Havel met with former Chilean President Pinochet. No details on the brief conversation of the two representatives were made public. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Vacek Discusses Army Problems

Offers To Resign From Office

LD0310181490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] At the meeting of the Defense and Security Committees of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly, Army General Miroslav Vacek, minister of defense, delivered a report on the situation in the Czechoslovak Army and outlined ways of solving the most important problems.

Talking about the possibilities of setting up a general inspectorate of the armed forces he voiced the view that this should be a temporary institution since the top command and the majority of career soldiers are represented in the army by the people of his generation who, according to him, belong to the old structures. Miroslav Vacek said that he, too, is one of them and in the course of the deliberation he twice offered to resign. He noted that his aim is not to hamper the process of democratization until the time when someone releases him from the post and that he himself regards his holding this office as temporary and that he will subordinate himself in a disciplined manner to a decision that he should leave.

He said, at the same time, that military counterintelligence will soon be turned into an army security unit and in this connection he emphasized that there must be a preventive safeguard of the sovereignty of the republic.

Denies Resignation Reports

LD0410101690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0930 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] The session of the Defense and Security Committees of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly continues in Prague today. At the opening of the session, Army General Miroslav Vacek, minister of defense, rejected press reports claiming that he has offered his resignation. He also said that he has informed President of the Republic Vaclav Havel and Federal Premier Marian Calfa that reports about his resignation are not based on the truth.

Responds to Purge Questions

LD0110185690 Prague CTK in English 1330 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister of Defence Miroslav Vacek said in the parliament today that he has not been told how to purge from the Army persons who should not be there and decided therefore to carry out the vetting.

In his response to the interpellation of Civic Forum Deputy Jiri Kovar, he said that the vetting commissions were made up of members of the Military Revival Association who have the right to represent the public and guarantee objectivity. Dealing with military counter-intelligence the defence minister said that it is now subordinated to him. This organization exists in the majority of democratic states, he said and recommended its further existence in Czechoslovakia too.

He also said that an "army security service" should operate from January next year in which military intelligence would be reduced by 40-50 per cent (at present the Czechoslovak Army has 800 military counter-intelligence members).

Czechoslovak air attaches in Moscow and Sofia have been recalled, he announced.

Discusses Troop Redeployment

LD0210164290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko met in Bratislava today with Miroslav Vacek, the minister of defense. The topic of their discussion was the redeployment of certain military units from the Czech Republic to the territory of Slovakia, and within this framework the reinforced protection of southern borders. However, they also discussed, for example, the possibility of rectifying and reviving the reputation of Czechoslovak Army commanders.

Meets Press in Bratislava

LD0210182290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] [Announcer] Replies to several very interesting questions were offered at today's meeting in Bratislava with Miroslav Vacek, defense minister of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic.

We sent our colleague, Miroslav Polacek, to the meeting, who is here now.

Does this mean that journalists learned all they wanted to learn?

[Polacek] I cannot speak for all 100 or so journalists present there. The meeting was limited to one-and-a-half hours, and I must say that even after it some colleagues questioned the minister. But, let me tell you, from my notes, about the meeting:

At the beginning of the meeting, the minister stressed the fact that his ministry is taking part in the disarmament process. One sign of this is the tank dismantled two weeks ago, the last of the almost 3,000 which we unilaterally decided to remove from our stocks. Pure destruction would be expensive; thus, in the military repair shops they have strived to reduce the losses somewhat, resulting in fire-fighting tanks, tractors made from infantry military vehicles, etc. However, training has to continue.

This also is true about new conscripts arriving for their basic military service. As Minister Vacek said, many

problems have been created by the great number of those who have signed on for a civilian service. He claims this prevents the humanization of the army service; simply put, those wearing the green army uniforms will have more work to do.

About the minister himself: Yesterday, we noticed some of the interpellations raised by Federal Assembly deputies, the common factor of which was the slow democratization in the army and insufficient tests of professional soldiers. In other words, not enough of them have been sacked. Vacek told us that deputies do have the right to question, and he, himself, in this respect, acted according to his best conscience. He said at the same time, however, that he is minister and that he must defend the interests of his ministry.

Others who rock the ministerial boat of Vacek, so to speak, are members of the Free Legions. The minister called them a group of young, ambitious commanders striving for popularity at the expense of the army, and this, in his opinion, a paradox.

There were many more interesting facts, but I do not have time for any more.

Political Assembly Elects Leadership

AU0310101690 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 27 Sep 90 p 3

[Unattributed report in the "In Brief" column]

[Text] The third plenary session of the Assembly of Political Parties, Movements, and Associations in the CSFR has taken place in Prague. The participants in the meeting approved the assembly's political activity to date and in a secret ballot again confirmed the following people in their posts: Dr. Z. Zahorsky (Republican Union) as chairman and Dr. P. Smutny (Czechoslovak Democratic Forum) and Engineer E. Dufala (Farmers' Cooperative Union) as deputy chairmen.

Assembly Discusses Property, Awards Bills

LD0210190190 Prague CTK in English 1543 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 2 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly today passed a bill on restoring mills, sawmills, hotels, shops and small repair workshops, expropriated in 1955-62, to former owners.

The law is one of the first steps towards rectifying the wrongs done under the more than 40-year existence of the former communist regime in Czechoslovakia, which fell during the peaceful revolution in November 1989. When explaining the law, House of the People Deputy Milan Cic said that further measures would follow.

The parliament today continued discussing a bill on state distinctions, under which the existing awards and titles are to be abolished, except for the Czechoslovak Order of the White Lion, usually conferred upon foreigners. The bill provides for two new orders, the Tomas Garrigue Masaryk and Milan Rastislav Stefanik Orders, and two medals. Explaining the bill, Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Jozef Miklosko stated that all distinctions do not entail any material advantages, adding that the bill abolishes altogether 40 government laws and provisions concerning former distinctions and honorary titles.

Miklosko Listens to Small Parties Air Grievances

AU0210100590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Sep 90 p 2

["ha"-signed report: "The Dialogue With the Government Begins"]

[Text] We are knocking on a closed door —this was one of the remarks that were heard at yesterday's meeting between Josef Miklosko, Federal Government deputy premier, and representatives of 19 political parties and movements which are not represented in the Federal Assembly. The meeting was the beginning of a dialogue which will repeat regularly once a month. Also other members of government will participate. In a discussion, the representatives of extra-parliamentary parties and movements expressed, above all, their uneasiness about the further development of democracy in our country and demanded putting a stop to the disinformation and discriminating campaign conducted in the communication media and elsewhere against the so-called small political parties. Other vehement demands are to secure equal access to all communication media (radio and television in particular) and that the political activity that was born out of the ideals of the November revolution not be liquidated by economic means and interventions, "which, as we know from the past, are the simplest way of liquidating not only political pluralism but also democracy." In the opinions of those present, the deadline for the registration of candidates for local elections should be postponed. At the end of the discussion J. Miklosko promised that he would help see that the government deals at one of its sessions with the proposals and suggestions that were raised.

New Outbreak of Infighting in Brno Civic Forum

AU0310101990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Sep 90 p 2

["jr"-signed report: "Another Dispute in the Brno Civic Forum Organization"]

[Text] Brno (from our correspondent)—The lack of unity within the Civic Forum in Brno leads to an evident polarization of views, which will influence the composition of lists of candidates for the November communal elections. Vaclav Cermak (deputy mayor), Petr Fridrich, Hana Holcnerova, Petr Kucera, Jirina Nehybova, and Ales Zlamal, co-opted deputies to the Brno City National Committee for the Civic Forum, reached the decision that they would run for the Brno Civic Forum organization only if some members of its leadership resign. The bone of contention is a statement by the Brno Civic

Forum Council on the political situation, which, in the opinion of the aforementioned six deputies, could, in the final analysis, lead to the total destabilization of the social situation.

Christian Democrats, Liberals Leave Civic Forum Bloc

LD0210213490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] The Christian Democratic Party and the Liberal-Democratic Party have declared their agreement on joint actions and permanent political cooperation. The aim of this is to give birth to a broader democratic block of civic parties and movements. The declaration also says that both parties have left the Civic Forum, which, according to them, has not striven for the creation of the foundation of life in the country, or created prerequisites for them.

Civic Forum Said Confused About Identity

AU0110145890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Sep 90 p 1

[Dalibor Macha commentary: "Mirror, Mirror on the Wall, Tell Me...."]

[Text] When [Czech Premier] Petr Pithart described the Civic Forum [OF] in its present form as "barely legible" last Friday [21 September], I recalled that he used a similar metaphor about a lack of decipherability in the early postrevolutionary days when assessing the Communist Party. Not only Petr Pithart, but President Havel also (see the OF Assembly of 15 September) objects to a certain lack of transparency and intelligibility in the victorious political force, which, moreover, seems to lack clear standpoints.

Even the OF Coordinating Center, which otherwise does not abound in self-criticism, indirectly admits the veracity of these voices when it refers to its present search for its identity. Moreover, it has now even stopped warding off "accusations" comparing it to a political party (V. Havel: "It seems that it is something in between a movement and a political party...."). The president is urging [the OF] to invigorate the Forum's leadership and discipline, which is indicative of the Forum's shift in the direction of a regular political party. The purpose is also to better cope with the spectrum of heterogeneous currents and find a clearer path between the maelstroms on the right and on the left. All this makes the OF different from the times when everything was so wonderfully improvised. The problem of the OF's "legibility" is thus a problem of becoming clear about its own overall political orientation. The rows over the election of OF representatives to the parliamentary commission for the preparation of the Constitution (Z. Jicinsky did not pass) and A. Dubcek's recent statements indicate rather clearly that the OF's political picture has not yet been given the final touch of color. The question is whether a firmer leadership and greater discipline inside a force devoid of clearly defined ideas alone can contribute to its greater "legibility."

Calfa Denies Rift With Slovak Premier

LD0110195190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] [Announcer] Deputies of the Federal Assembly and of the Slovak National Council representing the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement met with the highest representatives of the Federal Government and the Slovak Government in Vysoke Tatry last weekend to assess further steps of this movement.

Editor Pavol Sveton asked Federal Premier Marian Calfa to give him a interview:

[Begin recording] [Sveton] Mr. Premier, you recently mentioned forces which are striving to destroy our economy and political life. Students have asked for your resignation. What have you to say to that?

[Calfa] What am I to say? The students have the right to make their view known. I am in a government which is a coalition of the Civic Forum, Public Against Violence, and the Christian Democratic Movement. We have decided to follow the way of democracy. The most democratic thing is elections, free and democratic. We have had such an election and it brought us certain results. State bodies were set up on the basis of these elections. If I want to behave in a democratic way then, when I want to recognize elections, I have to respect their results too.

[Sveton] Can you tell me your views on the policy of Premier Meciar and your own policy promoted in the Federal Government? The public has been saying that it is perhaps more on the centralist side and differs from the policy of Mr. Meciar.

[Calfa] I do not think that people have been saying that. I have seen it mainly in the Slovak press, especially one particular part of it. Several articles have appeared in NARODNA OBRODA and I can say that the situation is far from being so serious as it was presented there. There are some differing views but, as I have already said, these are not views that would mean a collision. Naturally, he is the Slovak premier and I am in the Federal Government. I consider things from the federal viewpoint, he from the republic's viewpoint, and these are differing angles of the view. Differing angles of view do not mean that one of them is wrong. Simply, it is a variety in which unity should be created and both of us are tuned to it. [end recording]

Bishops Concerned About People's Party's Line

AU0210120890 Prague CTK in English 2023 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sep 28 (CTK)— Representatives of the Czechoslovak Bishops' Conference expressed here today

their deep concern over the way the press of the Czechoslovak People's Party attacks its political rivals, including Christians, who fought in the past for right and justice in the human rights movements, in the Charter 77 in particular.

They wrote in an open letter to CTK that Christian press should aim at spreading understanding, forgiveness, tolerance, and reconciliation in the whole nation.

The church must not and will not be silent if politicians and journalists, who openly avow themselves to be Christians, actually dangerously discredit their faith by their attitudes and speeches.

The letter was signed by Prague Archbishop and chairman of the Czechoslovak Bishops' Conference Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, chairman of the Czech-Moravian Bishops' Corps and Archbishop of Olomouc Frantisek Vanak, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Bishops' Conference Bishop Frantisek Radkovsky, and secretary of the Czech-Moravian Bishops' Corps Tomas Halik.

Store Clerks Strike for Preferential Purchases

AU0410072590 Prague CTK in English 2036 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 1 (CTK)— The Trade Union of Employees of Shops and Services today declared a token strike in Bohemia and Moravia for October 4, 1990 between 9 and 11 a.m.

At a session, which dealt with a bill on the privatization of shops and small businesses, they agreed that public catering services workers would also participate in the strike. These workers have gone on a strike alert.

Shops, workshops, restaurants and other businesses are to be sold at auctions under the bill on "small privatization" which is to go to parliament this week.

The trade union executive committee confirmed its original stance which demanded preference for current employees, i.e., pre-emption in the sale of the premises planned under the proposed legislation for this autumn. They believe that otherwise they would have little chance against illegal money changers and people who made money in top jobs under the communist regime.

Token strikes against the law took place last week but the original proposal giving current employees only the advantage of a 50 percent loan for the purchase has since been upheld by representatives of the Federal and the Czech and Slovak Governments at their joint meeting. Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said that many people in retail trade gained money by cheating and it was actually "one kind of dirty money against another kind of such money."

Private Newspaper To Be Published 1 Oct

AU0110202790 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 28 Sep 90 p 2

["(C)"-signed report: "A Daily Even on a Sunday"]

[Text] As of 1 October the capital city will have a new daily newspaper called SPIGL [Mirror]. It has four pages and will contain a supplement every Thursday. It will also be published on Sunday evenings. This is the first newspaper since 1948 to publish a Sunday edition and, at present, is the only private newspaper in the CSFR. The price of each edition will be 50 hellers. Readers will be able to purchase the Thursday supplement for one koruna.

Czech Deputy Interior Minister Recalled From Post

LD0110103790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Tomas Hradilek, the Czech interior minister, has recalled its first deputy Colonel Ludvik Vaculka from the post at the latter's own request. He has explained this by the fact that Colonel Vaculka had committed a political mistake when checking on the security situation and is reponsible for the fact that the public's mistrust in police work has increased again. According to a CTK report, Ludvik Vaculka had sent a cable to SNB [National Security Corps] regional administrations in which he ordered policemen to carry out surveys to find out whether retail shops employees would continue their strikes.

As Colonel Ludvik Vaculka is an able expert apart from this lapse, he will be given a post in one of the regional SNB administrations.

Government Deliberates Transfer to Market Economy

LD0410092690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Excerpts] Today the Czech Government discussed materials essential for implementing economic changes in the transfer to a market economy. One of the key steps is the demonopolization of the economy and the creation and maintenance of competition environment. The government therefore considered the principles of conduct in dividing state enterprises and the principles for the protection of economic competition before the law's adoption.

After a lengthy discussion the government agreed with the program of economic and political measures up to the end of this year. The objective of the draft is to speed up economic reform.

The Czech Government also approved the Czech National Council draft law on territorial financial bodies. Finance offices and finance directorates are to be

set up beginning 1 January next year and will be gradually staffed with appropriately qualified personnel. It is envisioned that approximately 2,000 fresh graduates will be given jobs in this system, which will monitor the inland revenue administration.

The government also decided to set up an administration for the development of border areas attached to the Czech Government office. The hitherto budgetary organization will thus be abolished as beginning 31 October.

Minister Jezek Calls For 'Drastic' Devaluation

AU0210104690 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 27 Sep 90 p 13

[Excerpt from an article by Tomas Jezek, Czech Republic minister for the administration and privatization of national property, reprinted from issue No. 17/1990 of the weekly REPORTER: "A Market Scenario Needs a Market-Set Rate of Exchange"]

[Text] The rate of increase in our standard of living depends on the speed of the implementation of the reform. The danger lies in compromises. For example, the controversy over a radical devaluation of the commercial exchange rate of the koruna from 1 January 1991 is still not over. To be able to have a convertible currency, we must find a rate of exchange that is sustainable over the long term and sell hard currency freely at this rate. If we do not want this process to lead to a large foreign debt and a drop in living standards, we must inevitably drastically devalue the koruna against Western currencies. We will devalue the present commercial rate of exchange of 17 korunas to the dollar to at least 27 korunas per dollar and perhaps even more than that. Any compromise between these 27 korunas and the present 17 korunas does not mean a risk but a guarantee that there will be no convertibility at all.

Political Movement of Czech Businessmen Registered

AU0310101390 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 27 Sep 90 p 2

[CTK report in the "Briefly" column]

[Text] A new political movement was registered yesterday at the Czech Republic Ministry of Interior: The Electoral Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs in the Czech Republic with its seat in Benesov. Its intent is to unite private businessmen and other citizens identifying themselves with the goals of the Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs in the Czech Republic so as to be able to form coalitions in communities.

Slovak Democratic Party Chairman Denies Split

LD3009215290 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Text] The fourth congress of the coalition Democratic Party ended in Zilina today. Jan Holcik, the current Slovak Republic minister of industry, was elected the new party chairman by a majority of votes in the second round. We have asked him for a brief interview.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Before the beginning of the congress, the public heard more or less verified reports about the threat of a split in the party. How do you assess the course of the congress in this contect?

[Holcik] I think that one cannot speak at all about a split in our party. Various viewpoints exist in each society, family, or party. Thus, several currents—slow, fast, or remiscent of torrents—exist in our Democratic Party. The objective of this congress was to channel these currents so that they flow in one direction. I think we managed to do this.

[Reporter] You have been in the post of chairman only several minutes, but, irrespective of this, what are your policy objectives; rather, what are the imminent policy objectives of the whole Democratic Party?

[Holcik] First and foremost the objectives concern the coming local elections, into which we would like to go together with our coalition partners as equals. We place enormous emphasis on the selection of candidates, primarily on their professional and moral qualities, which provide a guarantee for both successful representation of the party and public life. [end recording]

Parties Oppose Havel's View on Leaving Federation

LD0210201490 Prague CTK in English 1742 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava Oct 2 (CTK)—Five Slovak political parties issued a statement today, describing as incomprehensible President Vaclav Havel's opinion that the new constitution of Czechoslovakia should not enshrine the right of the Slovak and Czech nations to leave the federation.

Referring to President Havel's address in parliament on September 17, the Slovak National Party, the People's Party, the Freedom Party, the Independent Party of Slovaks, the National Prosperity Party and the Movement for Independent Slovakia said in their statement that "no one can deny the Slovak or Czech nations the right to make a sovereign decision about their state set-up. Contemplations about a constitution from which this right should be deleted run counter to the preamble of the UN Charter, as well as to international law, and are incomprehensible to us."

Slovak Ministry Announces No Fuel Shortage

LD0310205490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] The Slovak Ministry of Industry has issued a statement saying that, in spite of the reduced supplies of Soviet oil, production at the state enterprise Slovnaft

Bratislava and the distribution of fuel through the state enterprise Benzinol Bratislava cover the needs of the home market at average levels. The daily production of Slovnaft covers the amount sold daily in the Slovak Republic and furthermore is able to create emergency reserves. The current situation in fuel supplies is not exceptional, and therefore it calls on the general public to prevent a panic which could bring about artifically created problems and would reduce the reserves available.

Leaders Send Message to Germany on Unification

LD0310125990 Budapest MTI in English 1032 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Budapest, October 2 (MTI)—Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, Jozsef Antall, prime minister, and Geza Jeszenszky, foreign minister, sent a telegram of greetings to Richard von Weizsacker, president of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, foreign minister, on the national day of the Federal Republic of Germany, the day of German unity.

Foreign Minister Addresses UN General Assembly

LD0410062390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] The Hungarian foreign minister spoke today at the UN General Assembly in New York. He thanked the United Nations for its role in 1956. Our New York correspondent Gyorgy Bolgar will sum up his speech.

[Bolgar] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky emphatically urged the international protection of minority rights several times in his speech delivered at the UN General Assembly. He, however, did not start with this, but with a belated thanks after 34 years for the United Nations' moral and political support in 1956 to the defeated Hungarian revolution and national freedom fight. The United Nations, in an effort to give justice to our people, fulfilled its vocation described in the charter, as it did, and still does, in the case of a number of small countries. bAcknowledgement of this, in this day and age, is particularly timely, he added.

In close relation to this, Geza Jeszenszky later said that Hungary condemns the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait and the country is willing to actively participate in implementing the Security Council resolutions regarding the whole Middle East problem area. Besides those directly concerned, the member states can also help in removing obstacles to mutual understanding. He considered the resolution of 1975 by the General Assembly such a decree, which equated Zionism with racism. The Hungarian Government considers this a product of the bygone period of confrontation and disassociates itself from it.

Talking about other important goals of Hungarian foreign policy, the foreign minister said that after the unilateral dependency, a switch of orientation is taking place; at the same time, the Soviet leadership has become a trustworthy ally in our attempt to become truly free and to put an end to the foreign presence.

Developing the relations maintained with neighboring countries is also extremely important, because an historic opportunity is offering itself for cooperation. According to the stance of the Hungarian Government, however, in the eastern half of Europe, the cornerstone of democracy and the constitutional state is not only the multiparty election, but also tolerance and recognition of the characteristics and autonomous existence of the various national, ethnic, religious, and linquistic minorities. It also encompasses the preservation of all these, and respect for their individual and collective rights.

Beyond this, we consider it necessary to create an international protection mechanism for the minorities, and also to prepare an international agreement, to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of refugees, said Geza Jeszenszky at the UN General Assembly session.

Incidentally, this will not be easy; prior to this, Romanian President Ion Iliescu said in his contribution that his government is striving for peace among the ethnic communities, but, without even mentioning the Magyars, he spoke about so-called minorities.

Prime Minister Antall To Visit U.S. 14-20 Oct

LD0410104390 Budapest MTI in English 0651 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] Budapest, October 3 (MTI)—The Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall is to pay an official visit to the United States of America from October 14 to 20 at the invitation of President George Bush.

Soviet Military Statistics on Prisoners of War

AU0410083290 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Peter Dunai report: "Prisoners of War in the Soviet Union—There Were More Than 500,000 Hungarians"]

[Text] According to Soviet military archives, 513,767 soldiers of the Hungarian Army were taken prisoner following the military attack against the Soviet Union during World War II. The Soviet Defense Ministry publication that published this data—a military history magazine—pointed out that research was not complete in this field. Consequently, the information that had been published could be modified, as research continues and new details could emerge.

After being taken prisoner, Hungarian POW's [prisoners of war]—as well as the POW's of other states—were handed over by the combat units of the Red Army to the general directorate of the infamous POW and interning section of the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs], the notorious Soviet state security organization. (This was the organization responsible for the massacre of thousands of Polish officers in Katyn, among other things.) The soldiers were transported to NKVD POW camps, and in these camp they were given a certain amount of bread, according to their work performance. In principle, the soldiers who completed 50 percent of their task were given 400 grams of bread, those who completed 80 percent of their task were given 500 grams of bread, and those who fully accomplished their task were given 600 grams of bread. Captain Galitskiy, who completed this research, notes that "at times, the prisoners were not given the prescribed amount of bread."

The magazine article does not reveal how many Hungarian POW's died of sickness, how many were sentenced to death by a judge, how many died as a result of an accident at work, or of an attempt to escape, nor does it reveal how many committed suicide. (This list was drawn up by Captain Galitskiy.)

A total of 4,126,964 POW's were registered in the Soviet Union during the war. Some 580,548 soldiers—that is, 14 percent of the prisoners—died of the aforementioned causes.

There is no reliable information about the location of the graves of the deceased. Some of the POW cemeteries were destroyed by the construction of reservoirs and towns, or by excavations. There are still POW cemeteries in Irkutsk, Khabarovsk, Nakhodka, Baku, and other places.

According to the statistics, as far as the number of soldiers taken prisoner during World War II is concerned, Hungary is third on the list. Germany is first on the list (with 2,389,560 German prisoners,) Japan is second (with 639,635 Japanese prisoners,) and Hungary is third. They are followed by Romania (187,370 prisoners,) Austria (156,682 prisoners,) Czechoslovakia (69,977 prisoners,) and Poland (60,280 prisoners). The publication also says that, out of the POW's from enemy states of the Soviet Union, 14,129 were Moldavians, 12,928 were Chinese, and 10,173 were Jews.

The article briefly mentions that the POW's "contributed to the reconstruction after the war," as a gesture of compensation. The article does not expand on this point, nor does it talk about the postwar fate of the prisoners when they returned home.

Spokesman Interviewed on National Renewal Program

LD0310134390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0750 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Report on interview with Janos Hermann, Foreign Ministry spokesman, by Miklos Martin Kovacs; place and date not given—recorded; from the "Foreign Policy Observer" program]

[Excerpt] [Kovacs] Within the national renewal program a foreign political chapter deals with the position that the Antall government represents in international practice. What is identical and what does it have in common with the former government's foreign policy, as the foreign policy of the previous government cannot be regarded as unsuccessful, either? Indeed, it achieved quite a lot of success.

[Hermann] I think there are two elements. There is a continuity. This continuity is guaranteed by the fact that a political direction based on national interests had prevailed more and more during the Nemeth government and there were some concrete actions, too, which took place in this spirit. All this makes it possible to carry out concrete actions and allows us—that is, the new government—to pursue certain directions. At the same time we can talk about a new foreign policy in such a sense that the internal political situation in Hungary has radically changed. This government can act on behalf of a Hungary which is becoming a European legal state; as a result, it can represent certain values in a more authentic way. Furthermore, some of its steps serve the completion of actions that had been started earlier. That is, so to say, the circle is beginning to complete itself, and now it is beginning to form a logical system as a whole.

[Kovacs] What is the most topical foreign political and diplomatic action that is most typical of the foreign policy of the Hungarian government today?

[Hermann] Perhaps, putting it in one sentence, we could say we are striving for a well-balanced foreign political direction. In practice this means we want to extend our relations with, first of all, the European integration organizations, with Western Europe. This is the territory that promises the most for Hungary, and this is the territory where we fell behind earlier.

[Kovacs] If we look at Western Europe, is Hungary in need of counterbalancing to a certain extent? Counterbalancing, for instance, the obviously increasing German influence by strengthening relations with Italy, France, or Great Britain?

[Hermann] The power, the greatness, and the development level of Germany means an opportunity for Hungary. This is because the cooperation that can be established with a country of such size, such capacity, and such possibilities, which is situated relatively close to us, is very fruitful. At the same time this does not mean we would not consider dealing with any other areas. We have been showing the same readiness for improving of our relations with European countries—namely Italy, England, and France. I would like to add immediately that we also want to improve our relations with countries outside Europe. I would like to talk about one more thing. One often hears that Hungary's European tendency might interfere with us improving our relations with regions outside Europe. I think that if Hungary becomes an integral part of all European cooperation, then, rather than interfering with it, it will help us to establish closer cooperation with the relevant regions outside Europe.

[Kovacs] Do your conceptions include an emergency plan or a crisis plan which would have to be implemented if the pace of our approach toward Europe was not to the Hungarian Government's satisfaction—that is, if our joining the EC was much slower than planned? If I am right, it is planned for the next four to five years.

[Hermann] I would not call it a crisis plan in any way. I think we have to strive to keep to our original conceptions and terms. If we fail, I would like to add, once again, that I do not regard this as a possible alternative. If we fail, we have to carry out certain modifications;

however, I do not believe the basic tendency of Hungarian foreign policy would change as a result of this. I am of the opinion that it is primarily Europe that can offer us a possibility so we can help our internal processes effectively.

[Kovacs] Regarding the Eastern European regions, we have had certain disputes with several of the neighboring countries. The views are obviously identical in a lot of things, but Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Romania, and Yugoslavia for instance—I may mention any of them—are all on the list of disputed issues to be solved. How is the situation with the neighboring countries?

[Hermann] First, I believe it should be stressed that the main reason why these disputes have been taking place is that now we are talking about problems openly. If we openly talk about problems, then the chance to solve them is also better. It should also be pointed out that Hungary does not intend to turn her back to the Eastern European region by any means. On the contrary, we would like to establish fruitful cooperation with the Eastern European countries, on renewed bases. I believe that our approach to Europe, the unification process in Europe, and the fact that a vast majority of the neighboring countries thinks in a way similar to Hungary provide good bases for the settling of the differences in views and solving problems which have arisen in our relations within the frame of all-European cooperation or on a bilateral basis in a satisfying way. [passage omitted]

Jeszenszky: Minorities' Rights Need Urgent Action

LD0310131190 Budapest MTI in English 1021 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] New York, October 2 (MTI)—Acting in the Helsinki spirit, Hungary's new, democratic government is endeavouring to achieve balance in its external relations and to go down avenues which were blocked decades ago. In an effort to protect the national minorities, it advocates a new kind of security and cooperation system in Europe, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky stressed at the New York conference of the countries of the Helsinki proceedings on Tuesday [2 October].

The Hungarian Government is convinced that the Paris summit will herald a new era on the continent, Jeszenszky said. A new system of security and cooperation should be created with the involvement of countries that have so far stayed away. We are convinced that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), together with other forms of pan-European, regional and bilateral cooperation, will play a key role in the reshaping of inter-state relations in Europe. The new European structure should include the existing successful organizations, such as NATO, the European Communities, and the Council of Europe, and be completed by the new organizations of the CSCE proceedings.

Concerning the issue of national minorities, Jeszenszky stressed:

Support for nationality rights and the protection of national minorities requires urgent action since the issue is an essential part of stability on the continent. So the expert conference on national minorities proposed to be convened for 1991 will have a great role to play, Jeszenszky said.

The Hungarian foreign minister supported the idea of setting up a centre for the aversion of conflicts, and said that Vienna would be a suitable location.

Concerning the "Open Skies" initiative, which had a consultation in Budapest, Jeszenszky expressed the hope that appropriate political decisions would be made to surmount the difficulties and that talks would resume as soon as possible.

Interior Minister on Public Administration Tasks

AU0410093190 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Sep 90 pp 1, 4

[Report on interview with Interior Minister Balazs Horvath by Andras Szentkiralyi; place and date not given: "Doing Away With the Old Regime Is Not an Act Against People"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] Although parliament has not yet discussed the civil service law, civil servants can rest easy, Balazs Horvath pointed out. The new local government bodies will need them, and it is even possible that the demand for bureaucrats would increase. Balazs Horvath also told our reporter that the government has delayed the nomination of republican commissioners because the government will also have to consider the election results.

[Szentkiralyi] The draft law on the legal status of civil servants stipulates that it would come into force on 30 September, but the parliament has not yet debated it. Does this not cause the government concern, that the civil servants continue to live in uncertainty? Would you be surprised if you were accused of a suicidal policy, because you endanger the stability of your executive organization?

[Horvath] Indeed, we would have preferred parliament to adopt the aforementioned draft law in time for the local government elections. We submitted the draft law on time, but we did not take into consideration that the National Assembly would hold a legislative recess. We are not late, however, because there is still time before the self-government bodies are established. As for the feeling of uncertainty, I admit that many people must feel like this in the current ex lex situation. This is only natural. I would, however, like to make it absolutely clear that, when we speak of overall reorganization, we aim at doing away with the old regime, and not with the people. [passage omitted]

[Szentkiralyi] According to the law on self-governing bodies, the local government structure will separate from that of the state administration. New leaders will be needed everywhere. In your opinion, can we avoid a new counter-selection [kontraszelekcio]—for example, the appointment of party people in leading positions?

[Horvath] I do not have such fears, and I hope that a healthy selection will take place. The self-governing bodies and the various representation bodies will see that they need experts, even the old experts. Of course, there will be arguments, insults, and offended people. I, therefore, ask for patience from the members of the self-government bodies, mayors, and the apparatus. [passage omitted]

[Szentkiralyi] The preparation of the police law will be the next big legislative "action" of the Interior Ministry. What basic principles will you follow in this legislation?

[Horvath] Indeed, for the time being, we can only speak of basic principles in connection with this draft law. We would like to finally have a public law on the defense of the citizens in case of unjustified police measures, for example. On the other hand, a policeman who acts according to the law should also be protected. We would also like to involve the police in the civil service system, in other words, they would also be affected by the law on the legal status of civil servants. The law should also deal with the structure of the Police Department; however, the law is only at the preparation stage.

MDF News Briefing on Privatization, Elections

LD0310160790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Janos Hollos report from Hungarian Democratic Forum news briefing]

[Text] The decision made by the Constitutional Court yesterday stands in contrast to the privatization concept of all the parties. For this reason it is not excluded that multiparty discussions will begin on the issue, and a pact-type agreement be made between the parties, because parliament can decide on this matter only by a two-thirds majority. By the way, the stance of the Constitutional Court does not affect the Hungarian Democratic Forum's [MDF] economic policy as a whole. It does, however, affect its ideas in connection with the privatization of the economy. It was suggested at the news conference that the basic contradiction is that the court made its decision referring to a clean democracy, although it should be known that there is a transition where certain things should be interpreted in a different way. [sentence as heard]

In connection with the election, they pointed out that, in the remaining period before the second round, they first wish to appeal to those who are politically indifferent and stayed away. For this reason, they will concentrate on the suburban districts of Budapest during the campaign. Mrs. Etelka Pataki Barsi, the party's candidate for the post of mayor, stressed that, as opposed to the other candidates, she does not regard the mayoral seat as convertible. As she said, it is inconceivable that she would be politically active in parliament, on the one hand, and be politically active somewhere else on the other. With this she obviously referred to her biggest two rivals, the candidates of the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] and the FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], who, as publicly known, are parliamentary deputies.

There was mention of two anti-MDF provocations at the news briefing. A smoke bomb was thrown in one of the party's offices in the 13th district on Monday [1 October]. The young perpetrators raised a one-meter-long sexual organ made of plaster with the name of one of the party's prominent leaders on it.

Ministry Appoints New Government Guard Commander

LD0410091190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] The Interior Ministry has appointed Dezso Kiss as the Government Guard commander. The Interior Ministry's communique makes no mention of which position Dezso Kiss previously held.

Solidarity Submits Walesa Candidacy for President

LD0310171290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] The Solidarity National Executive Commission [KKW] has put forward the candidacy of Lech Walesa for president. At today's meeting of the Solidarity KKW, 67 out of the 78 valid votes were cast in favor of the candidature of Lech Walesa for president, 10 against, and there was one abstention.

[Begin Walesa recording] Thank you for your trust. It is the worst thing to be a prophet in one's own land. If here, where we have worked together, if here where there is the greatest number of errors, the proportion is 12 to 78 [as heard], then this is the proportion of votes that I would like to gain across the whole country. I am convinced that I will win the presidency of such a proportion. I am convinced that with your participation this is the way it will be. I am convinced that I will not dissapoint you with such a proportion. I will do everything so that the ideals of Solidarity will be victorious and that Poland will justly and honestly pass through this [words indistinct] period. I hope that you will support me, I hope that you will stand in for me. Immediately after we succeed it will be necessary to hold a congress and have elections [within Solidarity]. I keep my word. I hope that we will hold them in Warsaw this time, and that with dignity you will continue the role of trade unionists. That is all in this difficult, but proud moment in the history of my life. [end recording]

Jacek Merkel has become the head of Lech Walesa's election campaign.

Walesa's Gdynia News Conference Reported

AU0110140190 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Sep 90 pp 1, 5

[Text] PAP—Lech Walesa held a news conference at the Paris Commune Shipyard in Gdynia, which also involved a meeting with dock workers.

The "Solidarity" chairman was asked about presidential plans and a presidential program, with questions ranging from how much the election program is costing, to what the policy toward Lithuania will be. L. Walesa said:

"There does not have to be a separate presidential campaign. I have been waging this struggle for 10 years and society knows me, so I do not plan on any campaign. Nevertheless I do intend to continue such meetings as 'Solidarity' chairman. In 'Solidarity' there are many people willing to finance a presidential campaign. I do not intend to spend a single penny from public funds, let alone make a profit from them.

"Many people wonder what the Polish president should be like. The answer is: He should be exactly like society. He should respond to society's needs, know what is happening, and try to solve problems. The president must see to it that the Sejm and government speak the same language as a society. This sphere has to be put in order. Because the parliamentary elections are due in the spring, the president should he elected sooner.

"Poland is different today, therefore the concept of president will also be different. I would like you to participate and exert your influence. They can bind me with 10 pairs of handcuffs, but I will still meet people and swear at them to make them get down to work and take advantage of the possibilities that exist.

"I have a suggestion about the presidential program and the way in which the president should act. However I should not discuss it yet because the formal-legal conditions do not exist yet, and I do not want to speak prematurely and break the law. I am not going to start the battle first. The time will come for that.

"Until such time as free elections have taken place in Poland, I feel responsible for initiating the reforms and solving Polish affairs. I am concerned that not everything is proceeding well. Everything is too slow and requests have not had any effect. That is why I started a commotion with the presidential business in order to accelerate the course of events.

"I want to hand you Poland, so that you may participate in everything. I want to compel you to become involved and...I want a medal for it. The government has not worked out any attractive program. We will even do less, but we will do it together. I am banking on your wisdom. I am not accepting any payment, and I will not do so. I am competing for Poland.

"I am not a sure candidate for president because I have split up 'Solidarity.' I did that in order to prevent a monopoly and a postponement of democracy. Only democracy and market principles will overthrow everything that is bad in the economy, politics, and the union.

"I will not say anything about policies vis-a-vis Lithuania. It is too early. But I was the first to say, and have been saying for a long time, that the Soviet Union should break up and unite from scratch on a free and voluntary basis, and that is what is happening.

"I do not intend to resign from Gdansk. I am going to build here. Oh dear, I have said too much...."

Asked for his impressions of the meeting he held at the Radio and Television Committee building last Saturday, he replied: "I thought you people in the media were convinced about and committed to what is happening. I thought you were satisfied, and that only working people are dissatisfied. I was mistaken. Even here in the 'lion's den' there are dissatisfied people, people who want an acceleration. Although different people have different ideas about acceleration and what it should look like, the need for it is universal, because everywhere things are proceeding too slowly."

L. Walesa spoke out in favor of broad cooperation between the Polish economy and foreign capital, but

great care would have to be taken to prevent a sell-out of Poland's national assets and stop the Poles becoming "white Negroes," a cheap labor force. "We must be careful," said Walesa. "We must join Europe not as slaves, but as owners." He also pointed out the fact that there are still no practical solutions on how to convert the impoverished Polish population into owners of the nation's assets. "We must be very careful during the economic world war that is now being fought," he said. "Our revolution defeated communism, and now we are being threatened by a different kind of servitude. Cooperation is essential, but only the kind where we do not let ourselves be destroyed and where we make a profit."

As far as the problem of registering "Solidarity 80" is concerned, L. Walesa said he hoped that the victorious emblem and banner of "Solidarity" will be put away so that it does not become soiled with political struggles in which everyone should fight in his own colors.

In answer to criticism about his contacts with M. Rakowski (last year) and M. Jagielski (during the 10th anniversary celebration of the August accords), Walesa replied: "Rakowski erased me from life, but it is I who suggested to him that he should go fishing, not him me. It is I who invited Jagielski, because I wanted to show that those who signed the accord are also thinking differently and kneeling before crosses 10 years later."

In connection with plans to relocate the graves of Soviet soldiers, for instance in Krakow, Walesa's spokesman A. Drzycimski read the following statement on his behalf: "Lately there have been attempts to relocate the graves and cemeteries of Soviet soldiers who died in Poland. In accordance with national tradition and the Christian system of values that most Poles profess, the Poles have always paid the highest homage to fallen soldiers, whatever the color of their uniform. Therefore let us also respect this uniform, whatever our mutual relations were like in the past. Let us allow fallen soldiers to remain where death took them. We still have a long and difficult road ahead of us, and many obstacles to overcome. By remembering the past, we are shaping a new present with a view to the future."

A. Drzycimski also said that Walesa had received from private individuals and institutions many declarations of support for his presidential candidacy, including from the Liberal-Democratic Congress; the Presidium of the Christian-National Union; the leadership of the Polish Sociodemocratic Union, including personal wishes from its chairman, Tadeusz Fiszbach; numerous citizens committees; and various "Solidarity" factory committees.

Walesa Interviewed on Possible Presidential Role

PM0110142690 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 27 Sep 90 p 2

[Interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa, by Letizia Paolozzi; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] Gdansk—[passage omitted] [Paolozzi] So who is Lech Walesa—a statesman, a politician, or a Peronist-style leader?

[Walesa] I am somebody who does crosswords. Even now, during this interview, I am trying one. From time to time I solve them and win prizes, such as this lounge chair in which I am sitting.

[Paolozzi] Will you resolve Poland's problems by doing crosswords?

[Walesa] We Poles have succeeded in getting rid of communism, that is, the system that we have experienced here and that I would not wish on any other country in the world. Apart from this, ours is a European country, albeit in a very difficult situation. Nevertheless there are countries with even worse situations.

[Paolozzi] You said, "we Poles." What sort of people are these "we"?

[Walesa] I am an electrician and chairman of a trade union of thousands of workers. Alongside me there is a graduate who, instead of writing books, deals with propaganda in an excellent fashion. The point is that all of us together have got rid of communism.

[Paolozzi] I assume that "we" includes both sexes—Polish men and women.

[Walesa] Of course, definitely. Women are the same as men when it comes to rights. But they do not want to do everything that men do—heavy work or driving tractors and trucks. Women feel more comfortable in white coats (as doctors, nurses, or maybe cooks?—L'UNITA editor's note) and among bunches of flowers. Nevertheless a woman could become president of Poland. My wife would be a dangerous rival for me.

[Paolozzi] Why dangerous?

[Walesa] Because I am someone who criticizes, engages in controversy, and attacks. So I risk being attacked and criticized myself, whereas my wife does not criticize and therefore does not make enemies.

[Paolozzi] "People." You say that you understand, interpret, and give a voice to people. But is it not convenient to exploit the protest and to put all the blame on the government?

[Walesa] That is not true. I do not put all the blame on the government. It is just that I leave myself more exposed than others when I meet people who complain about unemployment, the cost of living, and inflation—which has ben curbed, yes, but by taking money from their pockets. It is no mere abstraction to talk about one million unemployed. It is a real situation that is prompting dissatisfaction.

[Paolozzi] Is this situation the government's responsibility?

[Walesa] It is not I who accuses it. When I talk to journalists I pass on what I hear. And I translate. The press on the one hand and the people on the other see me as a prosecutor inasmuch as I represent the nearest tendency, the one closest to hand.

[Paolozzi] Your movement is called Solidarnosc, Solidarity. With whom do you express solidarity—the Gdansk shipyard workers, those whose jobs are in jeopardy, the unemployed?

[Walesa] No, no! I support those who are launching reforms to resolve Poland's contradictions and I support the forces working for European unity. I also express solidarity with my family and my wife, day and night. For better and for worse. Indeed, my wife will never allow me to become detached from reality. It is thanks to her if I remain down to earth.

[Paolozzi] Do you really consider intellectuals "egg-heads," as you have said?

[Walesa] Not at all. You have misunderstood. Journalists misunderstood. I was referring to certain specific individuals, certain intellectuals who write stupid things. The comment was picked up and extended to cover all intellectuals.

[Paolozzi] Your trade union grew up through workers struggles in the major factories. Now the government wants to close down unproductive and obsolete factories. Will you support the pay demands or will you accept the sacrifices of a post-war reconstruction.

[Walesa] I believe that, first, new factories must be constructed, people must be given jobs, and then the old factories should be closed down. The West expects from Poland nothing but closures and dismissals. I disagree. If the factories were constructed by the communists for political, not economic, reasons; if they will never be competitive; if the wrong locations were chosen for them, such as Warsaw and Krakow, that that does not mean getting even with the workers. If the West wants to help us, it can do so us with loans and finance, not with a formula that will only cause unemployment.

[Paolozzi] Is it correct to say that Solidarity's power has grown much weaker?

[Walesa] I disagree. Let us consider the situation in 1980. There were 10 million of us. There were demonstrations, high feelings. Meanwhile the Communists did whatever they pleased. Now let us consider 1990. We have our own government, our own police force, our own prime minister. We have dissolved the Polish United Workers Party. Are we weaker? There are no longer 10 million of us, but our strength has been transferred to the institutions. It has changed nature: It has become a force for reform. We will also have a president of the republic in the person of the current chairman of Solidarity.

[Paolozzi] Ten years ago Solidarity was society's expression, its political strength. In 1990 the movement has several minds, and men such as Walesa, Michnik, Kuron, and Mazowiecki, who used to struggle together, have moved apart. Do you regret this division?

[Walesa] I am the principal author of what has happened. The world does not understand that in 1980 we had to struggle together, to stand united. Not now. Now some people wear white coats, some blue overalls, others a miner's helmet. You cannot build pluralism through unity. Of course I miss those people. Do you not miss the loves you had when you were 18? But there is nothing to be done about it. All you can do is sing about it.

[Paolozzi] Is it true that you use the word "left" as an insult?

[Walesa] That is not true. I am only asking for pluralism to be brought into Solidarity. To keep your balance you need two legs, the right and the left. So I used the definitions "left" and "right" in this sense. If anyone has a better definition than mine, all he has to do it put it forward.

[Paolozzi] What is your verdict on the second round-table, which has just taken place in Warsaw at Cardinal Glemp's request?

[Walesa] I believe that it was very different from the first. Then it was a positive, beautiful, necessary, and wise gain. But it could not be repeated. This is why I submitted my candidacy for the presidency in advance, to avoid the conclusion of some kind of agreement, or pact, or hodgepodge, in fact, by the participants at the meeting. There must be no more decisions adopted above people's heads. The groups and parties must take a risk and take hold of the political debate that permeates society.

[Paolozzi] If Walesa becomes Poland's president will he play his role with a scaling down of parliament or with reduced powers?

[Walesa] I will definitely be a very strong president. I will do this for the sake of democracy, in order to make it full, complete, and functioning. Being a very practical man, I know that models cannot be repeated. Nor can they be exported from one country to another.

[Paolozzi] So might you dissolve parliament once you have been elected?

[Walesa] It depends. Not if parliament meets society's demands and needs. I will fight to ensure the establishment of harmony between parliament, the government, and society. I invite you to interview me again, as president of Poland.

Editorial Wants Single Left-Wing Candidate

AU0410091890 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 1 Oct 90 p 1

[Marek Siwiec editorial: "Your President—Our President"]

[Text] The differentiation that was so popular until very recently has lost its flavor. The partners in the contest have changed. The ones who used to be referred to as "they" have practically disappeared or are in a state of disintegration. It only took slightly more than one year for the main features of the "old" system, headed by the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and Security Service, to pass into history. As we can see today, the Army and militia are "ours."

However, the official presidential campaign that is due to start any day now is raising old questions in a somewhat different form. Every Pole will ask himself the following question, certainly before he goes to the polls: Is this my president or theirs? Is it worth voting at all? If the main concern of the chief candidates, i.e. Lech Walesa and soon Tadeusz Mazowiecki, is the number of voters or the strength of the future president's mandate, then the entire issue possesses a fundamental significance. There are fears that the victor will become president of his own faction. And yet the elected president, whoever he may be, is supposed to be the president of Poland.

Lech Walesa gives the impression that he is only interested in that part of the electorate that votes for him. He deliberately shuns major groups of the intelligentsia, to say nothing of brushing aside anyone remotely connected with the old era. Mazowiecki will not antagonize the voters so much. That will make it easier to govern later on, but will it permit a victory?

Regardless of the results, this campaign will largely be a contest of declarations played for high stakes, because existing parties have no leaders, and the major leaders have no parties. Against the background of the battle of the giants, each political group will want to consolidate itself or present its own candidate.

What about the left wing?

It is as difficult to answer that question as it is to define exactly what the Polish "left wing" is today. Some groups, for instance the Polish Social Democratic Union, have already declared their support for Walesa, and paid the price by suffering a split. It is worth wondering what nonlegitimate left-wing parties and groups like the Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland [SDRP], National Trade Union Confederation, womens' organizations, and youth unions should do. One thing is certain, the left wing must stand forth in this election, and either present a candidate or indicate a person worthy of support. This left-wing presence is much needed by the people who support us and are unable to identify themselves with the Mazowiecki-Walesa bipolar set up.

There is no doubt that an active electoral participation by the left wing will make society more interested in the election, and will therefore increase the voting turnout. It should also be remembered that even outsiders will influence the victor's future policy, which obviously can no longer be a straightforward black or white after the election. On this side of the barricade, the generals figure more prominently than the forces they command. Canvassing is a natural tendency for leaders, for it is easier to percolate through to the press and television. The presidential election might also be considered a forerunner of the parliamentary one.

There is only one danger, a mere two or three percent majority would be a disgrace for any candidate who wants to make a serious impression and continue to practise politics. Nevertheless, an attempt has to be made. Instead of each left-wing candidate giving up the election struggle, a single, joint left-wing candidate could be found. But that would not be easy. The left wing has succeeded in splitting itself apart. The leaders have still not brushed off the dust of the PZPR years, and have failed to adopt the image of politicians of the new age.

In such a situation, the SDRP may have a considerable role to play. Despite intimidation and ill-feelings from the administrative authorities, the SDRP has managed to salvage a minimal organizational structure. It has a political presence, and despite the popular belief that it has merely "given itself a new coat of paint," it is building a new identity for itself. So if we consider the election a political-organizational undertaking, then the SDRP is capable of playing a significant part in it.

The SDRP could give up its tactical advantages and promote a joint left-wing candidate. This need not be someone formally linked to the party, but someone politically and ideologically related to it. And this would not be a sign of weakness, but a sign of responsibility for the shape of the entire Polish left wing and of political determination in the long march that has started. Wlodzimierz Cinmoszewicz, chief of the Deputies Club of the Democratic Left, could play such a role, availing himself of the support of the SDRP, OPZZ [All Polish Trade Unions Agreement], and his club.

The election should provide the opportunity to commence dialogue and cooperation between various forces. And a clear win by a candidate jointly chosen by the left wing would certainly strengthen us all, creating for the left wing the prospect of a more serious role in life than that of a political zoo.

Formation of New Christian Party Reported

AU0410112890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Tomasz Roguski report: "The Right Supports Walesa"]

[Text] The Citizens Christian Movement [CHRO], formed on 30 September 1990 in Warsaw, approved Lech Walesa's candidature in the upcoming presidential elections and has started to form its election committees. The CHRO supports early parliamentary elections, proportional representation, and believes that the new constitution should be adopted by a new parliament. It also called for radio and television airtime to be shared

equally between Lech Walesa and his opponent and called for the transfer of ZYCIE WARSZAWY to the opposition.

The movement was formed during the third meeting of the Citizens Accord for Pluralism and Democracy. Approximately 200 delegates from 100 centers—including 16 voivodship capitals—attended the meeting. Approximately 50 local citizens committees were present, including activists from the Lower Silesia Center Accord from Wroclaw and the Committees for the Defense of Private Ownership and the Association of Private Property. Starting Monday, the delegates intend to start collecting signatures for Lech Walesa's presidential nomination.

CHRO Secretary Wojciech Bogaczyk sees the new formation as a "third force" in the citizens movement. He foresees that on 14 October, the date of the upcoming conference of the citizens movement, divisions will be officially confirmed, because positions will have to be taken on the presidential elections issue.

Jan Lopuszanski thinks that the "third force" Lech Walesa has spoken about, should be right wing and Christian. Lopuszanski said that Poland needs a "party of people who are churchgoers" and called for the formation of a political party that the church could support and proclaim that all the faithful who vote for such a party will not be committing any moral errors. An organized party is needed to defend Christianity, which is attacked by organized political forces. CHRO's participation in the upcoming presidential elections will be a good test for the new party in the future parliamentary elections.

CHRO's ideological declaration states that it is a part of the "Solidarity" movement that accepts Christian and patriotic elements as its principal values. The tie with the Catholic Church was stressed as was the necessity of respecting private ownership and basing life in Poland on the family. The uniting Europe should be a Europe of nations that preserve their national identities.

The current task of the party is to encourage the development of the middle classes. Balcerowicz's program was criticized, because it is an antifamily program and its effects are particularly harmful for peasant families. Changes in the economy should be linked to the development of political pluralism. Political changes are taking too long and must be accelerated. The thick line drawn last year that divides the former epoch from the present should not protect the privileged positions of the former nomenklatura. Local government has not received sufficient powers to enable it to solve its own local problems.

In a special declaration the new movement accepted the Senate's resolution on the prohibition of abortion.

The following people were nominated to the movement's council: Wojciech Bogaczyk, Zbigniew Gryszkiewicz, Jan Lopuszanski, Antoni Macierewicz, Stefan Niesiolowski, and Lech Stefan. The movement formed programmatic and regulations commissions and the Citizens Accord for Democracy and Pluralism secretariat will remain the secretariat of the new movement.

The new movement is open to all people, groups, organizations, and other political parties that accept the movement's declaration. Its main force comes from the Christian National Union. Wieslaw Chrzanowski, chairman of the union, assured those at the meeting of the union's continuing support for the new movement. Four people who are members of the union sit in the new movement's council. Members of other political groupings such as the Union of Real Politics, the Movement of Free Democrats, and the National Democracy who were present were not the official representatives of their parties.

Article Urges Early Dissolution of Sejm

AU0310151890 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 30 Sep 90 p 3

[Stanislaw Marek Krolak article: "Parliament Must Go"]

[Text] It was clear that the acceleration advocated by Walesa and the Center Accord and the pressure on Jaruzelski to tender his resignation had to be reflected in parliamentary proceedings some day. It was reflected formally in the proposal to hold a debate on the political situation in the country. The proposal was contained in a letter that was sent to the Sejm marshal by Aleksander Malachowski. On the eve of the debate, a select group of politicians had dinner with Cardinal Glemp.

The outcome of all these moves was that Wojciech Jaruzelski sent a letter to the Sejm marshal in which he asked for his term of office to be curtailed so that he could pass on the office of president to the person elected in the first fully free elections.

In the draft constitutional amendment accompanying the letter, Wojciech Jaruzelski proposed that presidential elections be called within two months of the adoption of the amendment and that they take place within a period of two months. The president proposed no other changes, which means that the new president would possess the same broad powers as the present one.

The president's letter and legislative initiative were accepted by all the clubs with evident relief. Wojciech Jaruzelski divested the deputies of the responsibility of having to discuss the extremely delicate and complex issue of changing the holder of the office of president in a situation in which the Constitution guarantees the current president a further five years in office. A debate on this subject would be all the more awkward, because the parliament cannot institute changes against the will of the president. So, it is understandable that unanimity should have been reached on this point, and it is to be expected that the Sejm will amend the Constitution of the Republic of Poland at its next sitting. In November

or December the office of president will be taken over by a president elected in fully free elections.

The debate in the Sejm has shown how weak democracy in our country is, and what one can expect of it. Although Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government has lost its majority in the Sejm, and it should, therefore, tender its resignation, no agreement has been reached on curtailing the present parliament's term of office. All this indicates that the present members of parliament want to retain their seats until the end of the term of office. The impression was that Wojciech Jaruzelski had helped improve the morale of deputies and senators: Changes have been called for, the president is going to step down, but we can remain—that is the impression that one gets. This attitude was by no means confined to deputies who used to belong to the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR].

The argument that was most frequently advanced against a rapid dissolution of parliament was the need to pass many laws without which the country would supposedly collapse. However, which laws this applies to and how many of them there are is something that is not known. Sometimes the figure that is mentioned is 70, at others times it is 40, or sometimes only a couple are mentioned.

Only Ryszard Bugaj and Anna Radziwill have been resolute in maintaining that presidential and parliamentary elections should take place at the same time and as quickly as possible. They have advanced sound arguments. First, we need a strong government and a government can only be strong if it enjoys popular legitimacy. Second, in the current situation, instead of being occupied solely with their work, representatives of the state authorities are involved in election campaigns. Third, there is no reason why a new Sejm should not adopt the laws in question, and laws that are adopted in a hurry and under pressure will be of dubious worth. Bugaj believes that even the budget—and perhaps the budget above all—should be adopted after the elections.

The majority, however, are of a different opinion, and Grazyna Staniszewska has even accused Bugaj of coming up with an idea that would wreck the Balcerowicz program.

It is difficult to argue that Bugaj is wrong. The current Sejm is increasingly less able to carry out its work. Legislative work is carried out in a slipshod manner, decisions are made in the absence of a quorum, and commission meetings are attended by no more than a few people. For example, the commission debate on the budget—the budget being considered of key importance by those who do not want to see the parliament dissolved—was attended by 9 of the 44 members of the commission.

Yet it is understandable that the deputies should not want to give up their seats. They realize that few of them will be reelected. This gives rise to odd ideas to the effect that deputies should automatically stand in the next parliamentary elections, that is, without having to gather signatures or obtain the support of a political party.

These problems remain unresolved. Without the support of deputies who used to belong the PZPR, the government is not in a position to force through any item of legislation. This means that it constantly has to become entangled in compromises.

An increasing number of persons in the current governing elite are involved in election campaigning. If Tadeusz Mazowiecki were to stand as a candidate in the presidential elections, this could cancel out any likelihood of the government being able to act effectively.

Even the rapid election of a new president would not change much, because the new president would be unable to influence parliament. The departure of several deputies who used to belong to the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP] means that today "Solidarity" does not even have one-third of the votes. In addition, it is divided internally, and is not only unable to decide to pass a law, but also insufficiently strong to prevent legislation from being passed. So, it does not even possess an instrument that would bring about the dissolution of the Sejm, such as blocking the budget.

So, consensus is essential. On the eve of the parliamentary session that seemed possible, but prospect of achieving of a consensus now receded into the more distant future. Meanwhile, many questions of fundamental importance remain unresolved. This applies, above all, to the question of who should pass the new constitution: The present parliament or the one that will succeed it? Should the constitution receive confirmation by means of a referendum? What powers is the president to have, and where will he stand in relation to the parliament and government? What should the electoral code be like? The OKP wants a mixed proportional representation-simple majority system, the rest want a very broad proportional representation system.

There is no agreement on any of these questions.

The most important issue, however, seems to be the form that relations between Walesa and Mazowiecki will take as well as those between the forces backing them. In what way can the advantages that each of the two groups possess be used for the good of the country? Not only is there no answer to this question, but neither of the two sides seems to see that there is a problem.

Everybody is preoccupied with defeating their rivals in the presidential elections. Is no one concerned about what will happen afterwards?

Defense Ministry Reduces Military Service

LD0210160290 Warsaw PAP in English 1321 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—Spokesman for the Ministry of Defense has announced that, following the order of national defense minister on shortening of the military

service time to one-and-a-half years, the Armed Forces will release, between October 1-5, soldiers who have already served 18 or more months. The Navy will gradually reduce the service time (the release will begin with seamen who have served the longest time). After October 1, 1991, the Navy's term of duty will be shortened to one-and-a-half years, too.

The move has certain consequences. The smaller army will have to keep the necessary defense readiness, more recruits will have to be called up more frequently. The present recruitment rate of 25 percent will go up to 33 percent.

Reforms Include Three Sectors for Radio, TV

LD0310215490 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] This time, radio and television gave out information about themselves today. Reforms will abolish the state monopoly of the airwaves. There will be three sectors: the public sector is to serve the general interest, presenting various forces and groups in an apolitical and unbiased manner. The social sector will be made up of parties, groups, and regions. A condition for this will be full pluralism. The commercial sector is influenced by the advertiser. Its aim is profit and so, large audiences.

Parties To Have Media Access for Publicity

LD0310220890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] According to information released during a press conference at the Radio and Television Committee, by the end of this year, all existing political parties may obtain five minutes of air-time on television's first program for self-publicity. Next year, a specially appointed program council, composed of 50 people, will decide about the allocation of air-time to political parties.

Poland, Hungary Invited To Join Council of Europe

AU0310212790 Rome ANSA in English 1224 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] (ANSA) Strasbourg, October 3—Hungary and Poland were invited to become full members of the Council of Europe during a meeting of that body's parliamentary assembly here Tuesday [2 October], official sources said.

Hungary will be the first former Soviet bloc nation to gain full membership of the 23-nation council when it takes its place November 5. Polish membership is dependent on the holding of free presidential elections which are scheduled for November 25.

The Council of Europe assembly also voted to give observer status to Romania, the last of the Eastern European countries to remain completely outside the association. The Soviet Union and Bulgaria have observer status, while Czechoslovakia is expected soon to join Poland and Hungary as a full member.

Jaruzelski Cable Congratulates German President

LD0310155190 Warsaw PAP in English 1309 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 3.—"Please accept best wishes and congratulations on the occasion of the historic event of materializing state unity of the German nation," Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski wrote in a cable to German President Richard von Weizsaecker.

"I trust that Germany's unification will be one of the most important signs of a new era in the history of our continent, free of burdens that caused misfortune and tragedies in the past.

"I hope that the united Germany will give valuable contribution to the shaping of a united Europe. At this moment, historic for the German nation, I am convinced that the united Germany will not disappoint the world and mainly its neighbours.

"It is hard to imagine the building of European unity without Polish-German good-neighbourly relations and reconciliation between our two nations. The Germans will find the Republic of Poland ready for a partner-like and mutually profitable cooperation based on the recognition of the borders in the form of a treaty and on the mutual respect for national interest."

Mazowiecki Sends Letter to Kohl on Unification

LD0310215890 Warsaw PAP in English 1633 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 3—In his letter to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki wrote:

The date of October 3, 1990 is a historic date for the German nation which while materializing, in liberty and democracy, its right to self-determination has reached its unity as the state and the nation.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Republic of Poland and the Polish nation, I would like to convey to you the best wishes and congratulations. We Poles particularly rejoice of the fact that Polish transformations which grew from the freedom- and democracy-oriented traditions of "Solidarity" and had the spiritual source in the universal Christian values exerted such a significant influence on the establishment of a democratic system in the eastern part of Germany.

The process of the unification of Germany is taking place to the tune of respect for the requirements of security and cooperation in Europe, particularly of Germany's neighbours. This was manifested in the treaty on the final settlement as regards Germany which was signed on September 12, 1990 in Moscow.

Poland greets the unification of Germany with confidence and hope that a new chapter of Polish-German relations will be opened. A treaty confirming the international legally-binding character of the existing Polish-German border will provide lasting foundations for these relations.

Poland wants to arrange relations with the whole German nation on the basis of friendly cooperation, mutual confidence and partnership. Turning to the future we seek to create Polish-German community of interests. It will be a significant element of international order in the uniting Europe. We are convinced that Poles and Germans have a great role to play in the process of European integration and overcoming of civilizational divisions.

We wish that bilateral good-neighborly cooperation be based on a broad foundation of the treaty. A lasting element for the development of cooperation is the joint statement which we signed on November 14, 1989 in Warsaw. It is a good starting point for an intended treaty on friendly cooperation and good-neighborly relations.

The Polish-German reconciliation is of great importance for our two nations, their peaceful and secure existance and for the whole Europe. I hope that this process will be shared by the widest circles of both our nations.

Visa-Free Travel Suggested for All Europeans

AU0210103190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Sep 90 pp 1, 5

[Maria Wagrowska article: "No Visas To Go to Poland?"]

[Text] The Poles have a growing feeling of being citizens of Europe and the world. Thanks to the liberalization of passport rules, 50 percent more Poles traveled abroad last year than in 1988—19.3 million people.

Therefore the Poles feel any violations of the reality particularly keenly. Country after country is imposing restrictions on the entry of Polish citizens. Visas to go to united Germany are a slap in the face for a country that has played host to young Germans at a time when these Germans were incapable of crossing the Berlin Wall on their own. Europe, a symbol of a desire for democracy and a respect for the rights of the individual, is bolting its doors. Suddenly, that Europe is turning its back on us, for reasons that cannot be understood, for why should every individual and society as a whole have to suffer because of the doings of a mere fraction of society, those running the "Polenmarkt" [German expression used in Berlin]?

Theoretically, Poland has three courses of action in such a situation. First, the usual solution, a long-established rule of diplomacy: to act likewise, in other words impose similar restrictions on the citizens of other countries. That is being done. Second: not react at all, which would probably invite criticism of the authorities by society. And third, an unconventional solution but probably the most constructive one from the point of view of the development of European relations: abolish visas for all Europeans. After all, we are living at a time when yet another spectacular move makes no difference. That is a joke, of course. But seriously, it is worth drawing up a tally sheet on this issue.

Here are the facts. Last year, 1,240,000 visas were issued to foreigners from various countries. Some 79,000 visas were issued to U.S. and Canadian citizens; 1,014,000 to citizens of Western Europe (including Yugoslavia); 9,300 to East European citizens (at a time when visa-free travel was possible); and 48,500 to USSR citizens. There are practically no rejections of visa applications. Although 0.5 percent of visa applicants in 1989 were refused a visa, these were all persons who had broken the law, but not in a political sense. There is no longer a list of politically undesirable people.

Therefore the first basic conclusion is that there are no formal and political obstacles to travel to Poland.

Over the past two to three years, visa issue procedures at Polish consular establishments have speeded up, mainly in those offices with the right technical equipment (computers). The visa application form is much simpler than in many other countries, even European ones. In many cases, visas are issued on the spot. No country at the CSCE forum has accused Poland of having a harsh visa policy.

A consul is authorized to issue visas valid for four trips to Poland within a six-month period, whereby each stay cannot exceed 90 days. A multiple-entry visa valid for two years can also be issued, but this requires permission from the Interior Ministry.

The second conclusion: Despite the far-reaching liberalization of visa policy that has already been implemented, this policy could be made even more liberal in order to encourage more people to come, especially businessmen, which is important to Polish firms at a time when economic reforms are being implemented and direct contacts with foreign countries established. Compared to Hungarian visa policy, and especially Czechoslovak policy, our visa policy for businessmen is unfavorable (the Hungarians permit an uninterrupted six-month stay on the basis of a single-entry visa following the payment of a $15 fee, and a one-year stay on the basis of a multiple-entry visa following the payment of a $60 fee. The Czechs do not require visas of anyone staying less than 30 days, and it is enough to pay a $25 fee at the border. Permission from the authorities is required if the stay is between 30 and 180 days).

Now let us consider what part financial considerations play in Polish visa policy. It used to be said that the money earned from visas is a major source of convertible currency in the face of the enormous shortage of foreign currency. In 1989 the income generated by visas amounted to $24 million. Visa fees are as follows: Between 40 and 70 roubles for countries in the first area

of payments, and between $14 to $28 for countries in the second area of payments. Income from visas in 1990 is expected to reach $36 million.

What is interesting is that every year, the Sejm and Finance Ministry determine in the form of a law how much income must be earned by visas. Thus, this year, the Foreign Ministry must earn 542 billion zlotys. This money is used to maintain the Polish consular-diplomatic service (last year 22 percent of the visa income was earmarked for this purpose); settle our financial obligations toward international organizations, mainly the United Nations; and pay for other things in accordance with state interests.

The third conclusion: The money earned by visas is a financial "boost," but that depends on two circumstances: the convertibility of the zloty given the present relatively stable rate of exchange to the dollar; and the country's new economic policy, which calls for our economy's integration with foreign economies. So it is worth considering whether abolishing the visa requirement for all persons, not just those on official trips, might not revitalize the economic situation and promote foreign cooperation.

Up to now, Poland has been calling for the introduction of visa-free traffic with some countries on a mutual basis (the Scandinavian countries are a recent example), together with a relaxation of visa rules, including a waiver of fees, on which youth exchanges would depend. We know what the reaction from various countries has been, and we know the arguments against free travel by Poles that have been presented, perhaps with the exception of one argument which I think is not fully known in Poland, namely that individual EEC, EFTA [European Free Trade Association], and Nordic Council countries are defending themselves against visa-free traffic with Poland on the pretext that their powers are limited, and only the abovementioned organizations they belong to can decide on their behalf But is this not yet another argument "in favor of" Poland being first to abandon visas? Would this not be followed by similar steps by West European countries? Is it not worth conducting opinion polls on this subject? The progressing integration of Western Europe might make it more difficult to abolish visas later. There is no need to comment on the value of visa-free traffic for young people. That is quite simply an investment for the future.

If visa-free traffic to Poland is introduced, one should also expect certain negative economic and social phenomena, such as illegal trade, diminished income from customs duties, drug trafficking, smuggling of works of art, and an influx of people from countries less developed or less politically stable than Poland (e.g. the Soviet Union and Romania). In that case it could turn out that Poland and the Poles might want to shut themselves against an influx of foreigners for the very same reasons that Europe is shutting itself against us now. That is the way it could be, but it need not be so.

Nevertheless, if we want to build a new Europe, it would be worth underlining this objective by means of maximally liberal visa regulations for Europeans.

Soviet Forces Associated With Ecological Damage

LD0310221190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] In a published statement on the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland, the chairman of voivodship self-governments have emphasized that the presence of numerous Soviet Army units is associated with often irreversible ecological damage, the destruction of community property, and an increase in crime. In this regard, representatives of self-government authorities have appealed to the government and Sejm for urgent and thorough vetting of legal regulations concerning the presence of Soviet units in Poland, and to exert an influence on their speediest possible departure from our country.

Roman Issues Statement on German Unification

AU0310121690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Statement by Prime Minister Petre Roman after receiving FRG Ambassador Klaus Terfloth in Bucharest on 3 October—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Prime Minister Mr. Petre Roman made the following statement to our radio station:

[Begin Roman recording] A few minutes ago, I had a meeting with the FRG ambassador, who conveyed a message from Chancellor Kohl on this historic day for Germany, the day of the unification of the two Germanys, which were separated after World War II.

The message is quite substantial. The main idea is that united Germany does not represent any kind of danger for the international community, primarily the European one, but rather, is the surest way to eliminate the [word indistinct] of war and to guarantee European security, within the European confederative formula toward which we are obviously heading.

As you know, this new Germany—this is an interesting aspect—reemerged without the need for constitutional changes, rather on the basis of Article 23 of the FRG Constitution, which provided for the right of lands making up the former GDR to join the FRG. Well, this united Germany was primarily achieved through the consensus [word indistinct] of the great powers that emerged victorious in World War II and the consensus of the neighboring countries directly interested in this matter.

As I said last January, Germany's unification is, from a historical viewpoint, a very important process for the shape of new Europe. During my discussion with the ambassador, I received assurances that the new Germany supports Romania in its efforts to draw closer to the European Economic Community. Likewise, the ambassador assured me that Germany understands and is in solidarity with the efforts made by the Romanian state to stabilize the situation of ethnic Germans in Romania.

Well, this is a very big day for Germany; I also believe that it is a very important day for all of Europe, to help us to completely put behind us the thought that Europe was once the theater of such a devastating war. It is a (?historic) day. [end recording]

Officials Send Cable to FRG's Kohl, Genscher

AU0310153190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1502 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/10/1990—Prime Minister Petre Roman sent a telegram to Chancellor Helmut Kohl, reading: On the occasion of the German unification celebrations allow me to convey to you our warmest congratulations and wishes of peace and prosperity for the German people. The Romanian people sincerely cherishes the accomplishment of the Germans' aspiration to live united in peace and freedom, sharing the conviction that the German unification is an event of utmost importance apt to build confidence and increase the solidarity of European peoples, to strengthen world peace.

I believe that, in the new context, the Romanian-German friendship and cooperation relations will be given a new impetus through mutual agreements on concrete measures meant to give greater scope to our bilateral relations.

The Romanian foreign minister Adrian Nastase addressed a telegram in the same tenor to his West German counterpart, Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

President Iliescu's 3 Oct UN Address

AU0310201590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1757 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Report on speech by Romanian President Ion Iliescu at UN General Assembly in New York on 3 October]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/10/1990—Romania is fully committed to the ideals of the United Nations, said President Ion Iliescu in his speech delivered Wednesday to the General Assembly. More than ever, we now understand how dangerous isolation is, how contrary to our people's interests were the former tendencies to surround us with a barbed wire fence of false ideas and assumptions. Those old policies in Romania were skillfully designed for pushing us backwards, and the cutting short of our aspirations towards human dignity and freedom. Nothing is more important than freedom, there is no reality more obviously underlying the efforts of mankind through the ages than that of freedom. We know it too well in Romania, and we cherish the idea that freedom is the only ground for all the other aspects of a truly dignified human life. Freedom gives sense to a democracy, which is more than fulfilling the aspirations of a majority. It gives rights to minority, to the dissent as well. This is how we think now in my country, how we feel, and what we work for. At the same time, we know how distant we are from having those values truly implemented in our political and social life. The heavy heritage of the former dictatorial regime is still plundering our efforts. Disunity and mistrust, lack of a civil society and education, the destruction of the social framework to the utmost, the loss of dignity of the working man, by deprivation and alienation of profits, the humiliation of the whole nation by dictating its needs and wants, all these left us bare and uncertain.

The dispersion of national energies leads us to dissimilarities and violence, deplorable to the extreme. As always, the government bears the responsibility. It is a matter of perception and reality at the same time. In spite of all that, any act of domestic violence makes us unhappy and miserable. Clashes of social groupings on

the streets, politically exploited by interested forces, all these terrible events are meant at drawing us back.

The only hope we have is in the fortitude of the Romanian people, its commitment to freedom and democracy. Starting everything anew, we know how difficult it will be to cope with all these situations, but we are determined to win. On such a road it is easy to make mistakes, and we certainly did. But our goodwill and determination to overcome the present state of affairs must also be taken into account. We are the first to acknowledge errors and to be grateful for exposing them.

There is no harder job than battling with our own limitations and deficiencies. We must destroy our own "idola mentis." To believe in truth, you should start by not believing in the false, there is no alternative. It is a radical and painful change when you experience it in practical terms of a whole nation, and then in those of every individual.

What happens now in Romania is a unique case in history. It is a matter not only of changing a few institutions and dignitaries.

It means restructuring mentalities: Freeing the initiative of the individual; we strive for opening new vistas for the imagination and energies of our nation. That would enable us to contemplate the future in terms of confidence and real hope.

As a Latin country, said the president, Romania professes an unabated belief in legality and legal institutions. The Latin roots are keeping us tightened to a vocation that the nightmare of totalitarianism was not able to destroy. In domestic and international affairs we favour the rule of law, and for that reason we profess a strict respect to the United Nations Charter. Our policy is aligned, if I may say so, to that of the United Nations. This is why we were so happy with the end of a division from which Europe suffered so long. The nations are now able to get united indeed, managing crises that otherwise might hamper their efforts towards a common goal. This was proved in August, when we quickly responded to the Iraq-Kuwait crisis in the Security Council. Romania played a role in the adoption of the resolutions that you know so well, and we viewed our position as one reflecting the common will of our organization. This was assumed as Romania's policy, to view major problems as concerning us all, and the decisions to be taken on a common ground. Being a non-permanent member of the Security Council, my country feels that it needs to represent not only its own interests, but those of the large majority of these United Nations as well. We will work for this organization, we will faithfully respect the status of the international public servant, we will strengthen our ties with all the member states on the basis of justice and stability of international relations.

We are happy to mention that major conflicts in the world are about to come to an end. They were either left over from the Second World War, as in Berlin, or ideological ones ignited by parties and factions in a contest for power. The universality of our organization, its prestige will help in solving all controversies peacefully. Nobody is able to put aside the moral pressure of the nations united. We were happy to welcome among us Namibia and Liechtenstein, both friendly countries to Romania. We warmly congratulate the people of Yemen for achieving the unity of its country, and we heartily support the memorandum of the twelve European nations on the reduction of confrontation between the two Koreas, another vestige of the cold war. We are pleased by the political dialogue of the two parties at the level of Korean prime-ministers, and we express the hope that the Korean people will be fully represented in the United Nations very soon.

And in this very moment, one of the most important events in contemporary history is taking place. The unity of the two German states is completed. We should be all aware of the majesty of the day. This is indeed the end of the Second World War, and of its aftermath. The grim consequences of the divergent trends in the world plagued our efforts so long after the actual cessation of the shooting war in 1945. The war of ideologies was a prolongation of the confrontation on the battlefields. This rostrum was very often the focal point of embittered rivalries. And we were so proud to attend here, in this hall of nations, when the President of the United States proclaimed: "Now is the time to set aside old debates, old procedures, old controversies, and old resolutions. It is time to replace polemic attacks with pragmatic action."

Everything that I am trying to convey to you leads us necessarily to a concept that in our understanding should play a major role in international affairs. We might call it human solidarity. This is again something that history taught us well in Romania. We experienced enough of one abstract relationship between the individual and the state, and vague ties between entities called nation states. The obsolete framework of the cold war era rendered us blind to what we now perceive as the very principle of the United Nations. How could we all work here without a feeling of solidarity in confronting the major issues of international peace and security, the environment, the phenomenon of terrorism, the drugs, the poverty still rampaging through whole areas of the world, how could we confront these major challenges otherwise but in full solidarity? The recent most important event was the summit for children, a wonderful gathering of heads of state or government that stressed the will to care for our future.

Nothing reflects better what is common to us all than a lawful world. For us in Romania, the international law is meant at bringing us together, and not imposing on us, or squeezing on the sovereign attributes of states. We favour a greater recourse to the international court of justice in matters of legal nature, and to its advice in all kind of disputes. Paying tribute to the good offices of the secretary general, to his moral stature and his reputation of impartiality, we would like to see him play a greater

role in exercising authority and mediation in conflicts that are still tearing apart the wonderful unity we are working for.

There is no way of better solving our problems in the world today than revealing the sources of tensions and conflicts. It seems that nothing more than poverty and unequal share of the riches that God bestowed upon us would destabilize the world, would disrupt the order so painfully achieved. We will have to build up a new structure of the economic system enabling our organization to pursue a greater coherence in helping poor countries to develop their respective economies, and to better the international trade. The spectacular evolutions in the area of Eastern Europe and the firm determination of Romania to have a market-oriented economy need the support of industrialized countries. Our intention is to undergo a smooth transition without major convulsions and upheavals. We need help and the concurrence of multilateral factors, being ready to assume all responsibilities in this respect. The issues at stake are of major importance taking into account the centrality of the economic factor in all societies. In this regard, the United Nations development programme can play an important role on the basis of its rich experience gained during forty years of existence as a UN instrument for supporting the efforts of developing countries.

My country said the president pledges full respect for the internationally recognized norms and standards of human rights. In this fundamental matter, the universal declaration of human rights is guiding us. These rights belong to us all. They are our rights. We implement now without any reservations the provisions of the final document of the general European conference in Vienna. Further, Romania contributed to a substantial document at the conference in Copenhagen on the human dimension of CSCE. The ratification of a number of international legal instruments regarding human rights, has started. Foreign observers were invited to watch the first free elections held in Romania after the Second World War. In fact, we would have preferred the United Nations to watch our electoral process. There are countries that might need support in this regard. We will welcome a more formal role of the United Nations in the efforts to establish the foundation of democratic governments through free elections. Authoritative experts from around the world might assist a special coordinator for electoral assistance, as was suggested here.

The totalitarian regimes increased the heavy burden of ethnic strifes conflicts in Eastern Europe. My country makes no exception to this situation. We are in a process of change in the area of the rights of ethnic minorities, too. We want a pluralistic society, with full respect for al human beings. We consider everybody equal to all, individuals and communities.

The second party represented in our parliament is one based on an ethnic ground. By law, all national minorities have proportional representation, a rostrum from which to make their voices heard. Of course, there are intricacies of inter-ethnic relations, well nourished through centuries by divided interests and they will necessitate great wisdom and patience to be considered.

We will work hard, we will dedicate all our energies to have a good and united country for all its citizens. We truly confess not to know the zip code of paradise, but we are entitled to hope that our people will again provide an example of inter-ethnic peace. There is no other way, these are basics of nowadays life in any respectable country of the world. And we will not give up an inch of our determination to respect the freedom and well being of all our citizens.

Romania welcomes the changes in Europe, as a first step to harmonize the well known dimensions of security: political, military, economic and humanitarian. These changes brought us on the threshold of a new chapter of the CSCE process which will lead us to a system of more reliable security, wider cooperation and better understanding among nations. The summit meeting to be held in Paris next month is meant to take far reaching decisions. The CSCE ministerial meeting concluded yesterday in New York highlighted the determination of the participating states to work in order to ensure the full success of that historic meeting and added an important contribution.

The positive course of events on the continent could be stimulated by sub-regional approaches. We hope that the Balkan states, with old traditions in cooperation and common interests, could play an active part in speeding up the process of establishing a pattern for European security and cooperation. With this aim in mind, Romania has recently suggested the founding of a forum for security and cooperation in the Balkans which could improve the relations among countries in this region, as an integral part of the CSCE process.

Within the same pattern, we suggest a project for cooperation among the countries bordering the Danube. Our intention is to make a better use of this great European river-way, a project that might include protection of the Danube environment, development of trade and economic cooperation, management of Danube water flow, cooperation in the field of transportation and development of tourism.

Other important initiatives relate to developing multilateral cooperation in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea areas. The wide support given to the initiative to organize a conference on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean at the current CSCE meeting in Palma de Mallorca is based on the general idea that ensuring peace and stability in that area is of a critical importance for the attainment of the goal we are pursuing on the European continent. In our small interdependent world what is true for Mediterranean applies also to other areas of the earth .

We believe that the processes enhancing closer relations and cooperation among states, as well as the strengthening of the concept of "common interests" in the new

world design favour the development of regional and sub-regional cooperation. In fact, the UN Charter itself lays a great emphasis on regional bodies, which, in our opinion, should be encouraged.

It seems to me that Romania, continued President Iliescu is still a country arousing a lot of controversies. The same happens to its president and the current administration. This is only natural in times of change, when you step out of a nightmare, and you still have the marks of it in your eyes. I want to make sure in front of you that the glory we really want is that of bringing about peace, stability and freedom in my country. Again and again, we will state our firm belief that freedom of the individual is the starting point of everything. The standards were set up in the universal declaration of human rights. Free and equal human beings, endowed with reason and conscience, should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood. This is the pervasive spirit that emulates us in Romania. Our vision will be made clear by our moral and political ambitions. The lofty goals of the United Nations are the only ones that make an appeal to us. We are a decent nation in the world; we respect you all, and we will work with you to achieve prosperity and peace on earth. We need your help and understanding and we will reciprocate in the same manner. This is our message, this is our commitment, which the Romanian people mandated me to carry over to you.

Concluding his speech, president said: I would like to stress again that we will be on the side of all those working for the fulfillment of the ideals of the United Nations.

Minister Vatasescu on Trade With USSR

AU0310153390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1430 GMT 3 Oct 90

["Romania-The USSR: Annual Goods Exchanges Worth Six Million Rubles (From A. Vatasescu's interview)"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/10/1990—Supplies from the USSR to Romania cover some ten per cent of the country's consumption of electricity, 20 per cent of the oil consumption and about 30 per cent of the necessary gas, says in an interview with the daily ADEVARUL Anton Vatasescu, minister of state for industrial and commercial activity. Romania exports to the USSR, the Romanian minister says, commodities worth some three billion rubles and imports about just as much, goods including crude, gas, electricity, cotton, asbestos, iron ore, staple fibre, news paper, etc. Under the circumstances, the consequences of the cut on exports, obviously without any special reason, are quite alarming. Whereas last year our trade surplus with Moscow was 230 million rubles, in September we recorded a deficit of 360 million rubles. At the recent meeting in Moscow, where a protocol was signed on the meeting of the chairmen of the Romanian-Soviet Intergovernment Commission of Economic, Technological and Scientific Collaboration, we had two main targets: to settle the situation of the fourth trimester supplies and to see how we should settle things for 1991, in the context of the new mechanism of commercial relations which will come into force on January 1 and will affect us very much.

While in Moscow, we discussed again the stands of the two parties. I mean we suggested a government clearing for 1991, expressed in dollars, but not through actual payments for every contract in convertible currency, since we do not avail of the liquidity. The Soviet party did not agree, since it too, stopped financing the economic agents and is therefore no longer willing to credit these exchanges. Another problem is connected with the paying off of the balance we will have on December 31. We insisted that we should be allowed to settle the arrears of this year throughout 1991. The Soviet party reluctantly agreed only for the first quarter of next year with the meeting of the contracts in arrears. So, if I tell you that I am less pessimistic now than before my departure, I think I have told everything. But I have realized now, and that is why I am optimistic, that our products are valuable, necessary and the Soviet party waits for them. I will even mention some of the products we export to the USSR. Right after December 22 we announced that we would no longer export food. We are much behind deliveries with some industrial goods: drilling and oil-field equipment, spare parts, pumping units, industrial armatures, Aversa-made pumps, tractors, excavators, cement, tout-terrain cars, machine-tools, open and cereal cars, chemical equipment, engines, etc. We have agreed to try and eliminate the arrears for the fourth quarter and we have stipulated in the signed protocol that the Soviet party too, should make up for its arrears with us.

Roman Meets Pact Military Council Members

AU0410095490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0947 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 4/10/1990—On Thursday the Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman received the members of the Military Council of the Warsaw Treaty Joint Army Forces, who are in Bucharest for the 42d routine meeting.

It was agreed that any future military activities will be discussed after the November meeting of the Consultative Political Committee.

Neagu Statement on Visit to Gulf Countries

AU0410095790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0843 GMT 4 Oct 90

["Romania in the World: Mr. Romulus Neagu's Statement on Returning From the Gulf"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 4/10/1990—After the visit he paid to the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and

Qatar, Mr. Romulus Neagu, secretary of state at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, made the following statement: My mission was to hand over messages of friendship and cooperation from Romania's President Ion Iliescu to the leaders of the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar. The hosts noted that that action was the first at that level from East European countries and was appreciated as such. During my calls on the respective heads of state high appreciation was expressed of the Romanian revolution. Questions were asked about the economic and political transformations in Romania, about the difficulties it is confronted with and its internal and external development prospects. Special appreciation was expressed of Romania's stand on the Gulf conflict. For instance, the UAE president, Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan al Nuttayyan, cordially thanked us for the message and asked us to convey President Iliescu his best wishes. He said he fully understood and appreciated Romania's just and human stand of supporting those who sacrifice themselves for freedom. History will record these praiseworthy deeds, Shaykh Zayid said, and mankind will thank you and be on your side as you already enjoy the whole world's appreciation. As a matter of fact our proposals of expanding cooperation in oil refining, of starting cooperation ventures in the respective countries as well as in Romania for mutual goods deliveries on advantageous terms were appreciated the belief being expressed that they would contribute to the further development of the cooperation between Romania and the Gulf countries, a cooperation which acquires multiple political valences in this period of acute crisis in the Middle East actually contributing to the ensurance of a lasting peace in that part of the world.

Parliamentarians Meet Mitterrand, Poher in Paris

AU0410101690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] In Paris, French President Francois Mitterrand met with the president of the Romanian Senate, Alexandru Barladeanu, and with the president of the Parliamentary Commission for Foreign Affairs, Corneliu Manescu, with whom he exchanged information on the future of the revolution and democratic processes in Romania. A message was conveyed to the French president on behalf of President Ion Iliescu.

The Romanian parliamentary delegation also conducted talks with Mr. Alain Poher, president of the French Senate, about the political ways and means to establish democracy in our country with the friendly help of France.

After the talks, the president of the French Senate made a statement to our radio station and expressed the belief that the difficulties that have existed in Romania's democratic development will be overcome. He said that France has confidence in the future of Romanian democracy. He noted that the very composition of the Romanian parliamentary delegation—in which the opposition holds the majority—is representative for the spirit of tolerance placing Romania at the level of the oldest democracies in the world.

FSN Proposals for Unions, Parties Criticized

AU0310110690 Bucharest VIITORUL in Romalnian 27 Sep 90 p 1

[Alexandru Dinca article: "The Future of Democracy in the Vision of the National Salvation Front"]

[Text] As a ruling party installed following the 20 May elections, the National Salvation Front [FSN] was duty-bound to implement its political and economic program and—on the basis of the measures promoted by the government it represents—to restructure the Romanian society from its foundations.

The legal initiatives submitted to Parliament were designed to accelerate the process of transition to a state of law based on democratic principles and a market-oriented economy, while dismantling structures of the former totalitarian regime.

This was actually what was in the minds of millions of Romanians who voted for this political formation.

What has, in fact, happened?

The good intentions stated by the government are confronted with mistrust, and even the feeble initiatives on the road to building a new Romania are being sabotaged.

Could there be some connection between these phenomena, which irritates our prime minister every single day, and the provisions included in the FSN program and formulated under the direct coordination of First Vice President Claudiu Iordache of the "Commission for Preparing the National Convention?"

The contents of this document are clearly and alarmingly at variance with our country's democratic development. We will refer solely to two aspects that are proving to be dangerous options that can only lead to a new totalitarianism.

We quote from note No. 2, item 5: "The trade union movement's intention is to turn into a self-motivated and 'Solidarity'-type political force. In this event, the losses of the FSN would be incalculable. The initiative of common ideological relations must be promoted! When establishing political options, we have to direct our trade unions toward the practice of labor, German social democratic trade unions, and so forth. It would be extremely useful to have trade union leaders in the coordinating councils, including in the FSN Steering Collegium! We should already be concerned with establishing large social-democratic trade union confederations!"

This means nothing other than integrating the trade unions in the FSN! Thus, we can say goodbye to the apolitical nature of the trade union movement; once

again we can set up the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions and the "conveyer belt!"

What further danger does the Front see on the horizon?

The opposition parties, of course.

The Commission for Interparty Political Relations also has a "particularly" democratic objective.

In connection with the parties that are clearly in opposition to the FSN, the aforementioned document stipulates under items 2 and 3: "restricting the possibility of political maneuver"; "placing them in unfavorable positions and pushing some of them to a peripheral position compared with other political formations and associations, trade unions, and so forth."

It could not be stated more clearly.

What about the credibility of pretentious statements by those in power in connection with creating democratic structures in our country, freedom of opinion, and the free expression of the opposition?

The slightest vestige of political honesty makes it necessary for any political formation to follow up its words with deeds. Words alone will not persuade anyone!

Once again we want to express our indignation at the way in which any kind of initiative in the area of the independent mass media is rejected, at the shortage of paper for the newspapers of the opposition, and at the constant obstacles hampering the distribution of newspapers.

These attitudes are not accidental, but constitute—stage by stage—a "secret" plan to maintain power at all costs.

The obvious risks of such reprehensible conduct were abundantly shown by the consequences of the unfortunate events of 13-15 June this year.

Members of the FSN, wake up! You have responsibilities not only in respect of your own position, but in respect of the destiny of the entire nation!

Abandon lies and try to overcome your own impulses, and if you are not able to do this, give up!

FSN Prepares for National Convention in Dec

AU0310204190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1926 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/10/1990—A meeting of the Steering Committee of the National Salvation Front (NSF) [FSN] was held at its central headquarters. The activity of the Front's newspapers was critically and constructively evaluated, a number of immediate aims being specified in preparation for the national convention of the National Salvation Front, in December.

The positive role of local free and responsible press was emphasized, as well as the contribution of the mass-media as a whole to understanding and solving problems of local and national interest, that should better underline the role and place held by the National Salvation Front in Romania's political life.

In this connection, concentration in diversity was shown to be needed in the Front's press achievable in a NSF National Press Cartel so that new newspapers and magazines of various kinds—from informative dailies to theoretic and cultural bimonthlies—be published and a better cooperation be ensured between central and local organs.

* Front Criticized for Ignoring Opposition

90BA0304D Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Alexandru George article: "The Mark of Democracy Is the Existence of an Opposition"]

[Text] A few days after the 20 May elections, as I was passing by the headquarters of the National Liberal Party [PNL] in Bucharest, I overheard two people talking ahead of me. Looking at the posters and wall bulletins that had been left up, one of them asked astonished:

"You mean they are still allowed to exist?"

The other one opined, in an expressionless voice, devoid of either regret or hope:

"Well, for the time being... But in the end they'll ban them..."

That was all, but it sufficed to understand what they thought of the role and prospects of the opposition in Romania's political life. A "something" tolerated for a while for no apparent reason and doomed to disappear. And the worst of it was that those people were not prompted by any political partisanship: Had the opposition won the elections, it would have naturally banned the "others." The undemocratic mentality of some people is betrayed by this incapacity to accept dualism or pluralism: it has to be either the one or the other. And that's that for the interplay of options. But what is even more serious is that our present leaders view things in the same way; they accepted the opposition only at a moment of confrontation and continue to treat it as a mortal enemy which in its turn would do exactly the same if it were in power. The idea that the opposition is an inseparable part of the definition of the democratic mechanism, indispensable to the political system proclaimed in official declarations, and useful even to our rulers, is nowhere to be perceived in their mentality and actions. The real opposition is not only reduced to silence and helplessness, but is completely ignored, when it is not downright fought. The television programs are illustrative along this line: The opposition, with its viewpoints on policies in every area, is systematically ignored; only speeches and conflicts are announced; the "parties" are mentioned only as a negative factor, or possibly as a curiosity.

This, clearly, is the expression of the "original" democracy advocated by the FSN [National Salvation Front] leaders; they view the "parties" as an "obsolete" formula and aspire to unanimity, to a formula of leadership by (imposed) "consensus" by restricting any possibility of alternative. The Front's model is undisputably not the model of parties in the modern democratic world, but the National Revival Front [NRF] of 1938, whose style it imitates down to the smallest detail. That front, too, represented itself as a leadership solution that made the "parties" unnecessary; it, too, formed a government of no clear political color but of broad cooperation, and later a government of "technocrats" (with Engineer Petre Gigirtu as prime minister, much like the government of "technocrats" of Engineer Petre Roman, formed at the end of May).

The old Front held a similarly false position as the present one: it pretended not to be a party, although it certainly was one. Carol II "abdicated" his royal standing to become its chairman, just like Mr. Ion Iliescu gave up the extraordinary position he held at the beginning of 1990 to become the head of a party that continues to claim that it is in fact not a party. Mr. Iliescu has a great advantage over the monarch who became head of a party: while the king had dismantled one form of government that had dominated Romania's history for almost 100 years and endeavored to quickly improvise another, the latter found the totalitarian political apparatus already in place. And it was no coincidence that the NRF had about the same number of members as the FSN: 3,500,000. Its "supporters" were all those who wanted "peace and quiet," the state functionaries, all those fed up with the parties, all those devoid of any initiative, who thought that in this world things fell into place automatically, and finally, the personal admirers of the king, who cut a very handsome figure. However, the new Front has something very important going against it: Not only do people, especially young people, have greater political awareness, but the international situation is profoundly different: while the royal dictatorship was only another one in the series of democratic disasters in Europe, where one dictatorship followed one another in rapid succession, today the civilized world is on a course not toward totalitarianism, annihilation of parties, and nationalism, but toward democracy, pluralism, and international consensus.

Mr. Silviu Brucan correctly pointed out that the FSN will not embark upon the path to democracy as long as it does not adopt the existence formula of a party: a congress, internal debates on its program and leaders, and the expression of divergent opinions in its midst. The mark of democracy is the reality of an opposition; the opposition must not be ignored and pushed out of the life of the state, but must be allowed to be present at all the levels of leadership. Otherwise why bother to talk about the separation of powers in the state? The opposition is one of its forms.

Pretending to ignore the opposition (which in truth becomes an obsession) and going for the ostrich policy is one of the greatest mistakes imaginable. After "dismantling" all the parties, Carol II then proceeded to appeal to them (like Antonescu after him) when the country was experiencing its greatest troubles. The older generations know full well what those troubles were; we are just now marking the 50th anniversary of those tragedies.

Let us hope that the leaders of the present Front will open a dialogue with the opposition (be it the partliamentary, the street, or the youth opposition) before new other such disasters visit our country.

* Brucan's Criticism of Front Analyzed

90BA0304B Bucharest AZI in Romanian
1 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Alexandru Florian article]

[Text] In the past few months, Silviu Brucan has presented on television, in the press, and finally in a pamphlet (Silviu Brucan, "Democracy in Romania Begins with Democracy Within the Front," Semnalul Publishing House, Bucharest, 1990) various ideas and views concerning the fate of the NSF [National Salvation Front] as a political party. The author's ideas, born of his endeavors to impart substance and vitality to a political party, also invite the reader to evaluate them in terms of and to directly confront them with our social realities. The persistence with which this political scientist has repeated his views through various mass media has prompted me to outline several ideas in a dialogue, dealing primarily with the streategy concerning the NSF's role in the process of demoncratization of the country.

1. The premise suggested that the NSF is "totally unprepared" to achieve democracy in our country strikes me as too categorical and abrupt in view of the fact that no arguments were offered in its support. Also,it implicitely denies all the activities carried out by this political group from December until the elections. In spite of all the hesitations and of some options with which we may not agree, the NSF is the political force that disposed the formation of democratic structures in the state and in the civic society, sanctioned political pluralism, and necessarily, designated the juridical framework allowing for political opposition. Moreover, under the pressure of events and of the role that it assumed in December, the NSF defined and organized itself as a political party after many opposition parties, which benefited from the political system legislated by the NSF Council.

Similarly, we must not forget the fact that the Front was mandated by the voters to represent them as the dominating political force in the special efforts made to achieve economic, social, and political modernization and reorganization. Are we to assume that once again the politically ignorant masses legitimized a political party devoid of the ideological, political, organizational, and human resources to attain its electoral and program objectives?

I think that the idea closer to reality is that the NSF, a new political party, was formed and structured simultaneously with the transitional and stabilizing processes through which we are going. Thus, priority was given to pragmatic objectives and actions aimed at freeing the society from the unnatural restrictions of a dictatorial government. Consequently, in the next stage, the Front must align these objectives with a coherent and explicit ideology incorporating the immediate and future interests of the social structure that it represents. Being the only left-wing political party that won attention and credibility among the masses, it must consolidate its ideology and operational structures and become the orchestrator and catalyst of the progressive political factors.

2. Along this line, the manner in which it views its organization and running as a political body expressing and acting for the needs and aspirations of certain social classes and categories, is very important. A special place is occupied in this mechanism by its ideological system and the configuration of appropriate organizational relations propitious to a democratic and open policy. S. Brucan, legitimately rejecting any attempt to create hierarchies apt to engender an authoritarian or despotic leadership, inclines toward encouraging splinter groups reflecting the social personality of the human collectives they represent. The purpose of such currents is to formulate specific political programs on which the Front can base its program.

"Actually, the only guarantee that local bodies will function autonomously and that internal party life will be democratic is the legal existence of party groups or factions," Mr. Brucan said. I think that the idea should be refined and reformulated so that, if factions do emerge within the party, they will not be trivialized or excommunicated because of preconceived ideas calling for monolithic party unity. Historical experience shows that on the contrary, the formation of parties is based on a community of ideas concerning the actors and possible transformations of social life. Usually, factions appear because of differences regarding party strategies or actions in given historical conjunctures. If the differences become conflicts and begin to affect general program objectives, there is a rift. Interestingly, when the differences are small and concern, for example, the order of priority of certain immediate goals and actions, the factions tone down their positions in order to preserve the unity and social role of the party, and rally around the dominating current or around a charismatic leader. This is what happened at the latest French Socialist Party [PSF] Congress. Consequently, the role of factions in party democracy is ambivalent and depends on the intensity, contents, and opportunity of opposed idological and political alternatives. Similarly, the existence of party factions does not automatically guarantee democracy, because the factions may well be organized and run along authoritarian bases at the instigation of one (or more) political leader in a hurry to affirm himself. Factions are welcome only if they appear as groups of dialogue and formulation of the ideology and strategy of the political party, without however negating the basic political objectives that constitute the very raisons d'etre of the respective political party.

There are other levers, too, that can ensure the elements of democracy: vertical dialogue on political ideology and actions, autonomous local organizations capable of defining regional strategies, agreement on general objectives and enabling the organizations to select the ways of attaining them, collective leadership, and last but perhaps not least, breaking with dogmatic mentalities and perceiving the party—as Gramsci already envisaged—as a laboratory of political and intellectual creativity and confrontation, so that it can come to understand and grasp what it is that the masses want but are only partially aware of. I think that tolerance and dialogue, and the unfettering of a critical spirit and unhappy consciousness are more efficient politically than factionalism in the exercise of the hegemonic, rather than dictatorial force assumed by modern political parties.

3. Ideology is the trait of reference and the social impact of a political party. It presents in a coherent form the interests of social groups that seek to assert their social autonomy and capability to change from objects of social development to subjects of praxis, shaping segments of or the entire social reality so as to restrict the area of social phenomena and processes that preclude a civilized daily life and their existence as free and creative individuals. The study in question tells us all too little about the NSF's ideology. Aside from the fact that it is composed of social-democratic values, ideas, and traditions, which in their turn have undergone a number of considerable changes, especially after World War II, the ideology itself is not presented to the reader. Along this line, we need to see the evolution and particular traits of social-democracy as a political and ideological force. Being a political movement specific of postwar Western Europe regardless of the differences between the various countries, it has been identified as a broad form of social representation of social classes and categories dominated by capital. Consequently, its objectives coalesced around the idea of protecting the human condition of those dominated within the framework of social relations generated by developed capitalism. This is why this intention, which has actually reaped some successes in promoting mass social and individual living conditions in Western countries governed by social-democrats, cannot be automatically transposed to the Front's ideology, for the simple reason that our economic, social, and political reality is different. From this viewpoint, the Swedish or Austrian models, for example, can serve merely as sources of inspiration for outlining some means of action, while the Front's long-term general objectives must reflect the social reality and the objective and subjective traits of the social categories currently grouped in this party.

The ideal of the democratic society, in which the individual finds a place for his dignity and personality and diversity has its place in a social existence influenced by

humanitarian values, requires changing the authoritarian, arbitrarily centralized, and nonspecific structures, restoring the working masses' faith in human relations, and protecting the individual from the alienating, humiliating, and even degrading consequences of certain social processes. Being an ideology that promotes the assertion of a whole spectrum of interests, from the general to the specific interests of social groups interested in an ecological development of the society in the relations within itself and with nature, social-democracy defines its attitude toward the present period of transition through cognitive concernes and political demarches centered on issues such as: developing the civic society, the role of the democratic state for the dialectics of social changes, the features of a mixed economy and clarifying the relationship between the plan and a consumer economy, new interests and priorities for economically and socially viable productive activities, and identifying the sources and means of adjusting the various social groups to economic changes at minimum human cost.

Not only does the Front seek to pull the country out of the crisis, but it also endeavors to infuse this process with the management and development trends of a system of social practices and relations that will give the individuals the feeling of having a chance to a comfortable life and of being able to understand and control the existential dynamics for their own benefit.

4. "The main social basis of the Front was made up of industrial workers and land workers, joined by certain social strata such as technical and scientific intellectuals." This social fact, perfectly normal for a left-wing party in an industrial-agrarian society such as ours, represents, however, in the view of this political scientist, a first moment in the existence of the Front. Because of the processes of modernization of the economy, combined with the scientific-technical and information revolutions and the changes that will occur in the country's social structure, the ideological spectrum of this party must expand in keeping with "the evolution of the social forces in Romania," if it is to consolidate its political position. Along this line, S. Brucan is convinced that in the near future the middle class will play a particular social role; this class will be made up of the "group of industrial managers, engineers, and technocrats, intellectual and artistic professionals, men of science and university professors, physicians and dentists, service and small industry entrepreneurs and, of course, higher state functionaries, generals, ministers, etc."

Aside from some confusion concerning the term of middle class, on which I will not now dwell because it requires a separate examination, in the developed capitalist countries we continue to find white collar (Ch. W. Mills) and blue collar (A. Touraine) workers. While robotization and automation have indeed brought about the disappearance of certain traditional skills in some industrial branches and have modified and diversified the workers class of the period of classical industrialism, that class has not disappeared. Those whose life is linked to the production and achievement of profit currently make up the collective worker (H. Marcuse). From this viewpoint, it is true that in order to make itself felt, the political force of those exploited and dominated by capital must be made aware of both their common interests and the specific interests of each social group, and must be aligned within a coherent political program. The middle class in the Western countries, which is politically, economically, and culturally heterogenous, takes up differentiated political positions depending on circumstances. Consequently, a political party that represents its interests, anxieties, and dissatisfactions will frequently act as a buffer among the main political forces. It cannot sustain an independent political action based only on its own objectives and capable of incorporating the entire social life. However, during periods of transitions, when social relations of a certain type coexist with social relations of another historical type, the role of certain professional groups making up the middle class may become significant in emphasizing and supporting certain historical trends.

In addition, we must not forget that the NSF's political program also features a number of objectives of a general social character that concern all the members of the society. Actually, even some of the measures adopted in December were addressed not to classes, but to individuals. Not only the workers and peasants suffered shortages of food, light, and heat, but the physicians, engineers, professors, and functionaries, too.

Another aspect concerning the social basis of the Front in the light of structural social changes is, according to the author, the need toformulate a middle class ideology. It is, however, difficult to see how an appropriate ideology can be mapped out for a social group that, at least in S. Brucan's concept, does not exist in our country. In point of fact, any political party mirrors the level of political awareness of a social class or category that is already active in social practice. Consequently, a more realistic idea is that the Front, in order to become a political reality above and beyond the revolution that engendered it, must have an open ideology capable of perceiving and communicating in rational and critical terms the current human issues and the trends that will emerge from the crystallization of this transition period.

* Aug Attacks on Front Headquarters Reviewed

90BA0306C Bucharest AZI in Romanian 5 Sep 90 p 3

[I. Radulescu article: "Attempted Coup on 25-26 August?"]

[Text] Not surprisingly, University Square was reactivated on 22 August. The purpose of that organized action—one "act" of a longer stage play—was to attempt to ban the National Salvation Front [FSN] and cancel the choice of two thirds of the country's population.

We will reconstruct the main events of the plot for those who still have the nerve to claim that the demonstration was spontaneous and not organized. At 1800 the signal

was given in University Square to occupy the road. At 2100 hours another signal triggered provocations against the police. After several days of rehearsals, these culminated in "Operation 25-26 August," which consisted of attacks on and ransacking NSF offices by people possessed by the mob spirit and aggressiveness. The fact that only NSF offices were targeted for violent attacks and that these attacks occurred simultaneously clearly proves that the antidemocratic elements in the Square were performing a well learned and long planned play. Evidence collected on the site of these crimes will demonstrate the truth of this.

The Second District FSN offices in Calea Mosilor: The attackers had time only to break the windows with streetcar brake shoes.

The Third District FSN offices in Lipscani St.: There the attack was savage. The offices were unrecognizable. All the windows were broken, the furniture destroyed, propaganda material burned, and the sign outside was torn down. The employees were visibly affected by the destruction wrought on their offices. A few days later, when I went back to find out details, the offices were closed. Work was temporarily suspended. Thus, the undeclared purpose of the action was partially achieved.

The Fourth District FSN offices near the C. Brincoveanu Metro stop: Here the violence was the greatest. The windows were broken with enormous boulders. The doors were forced open, and attempts were made to get Molotov cocktails through the openings. It is still not known why the attackers gave up and chose to go on to the second point on the nightly "agenda" of a meticulously prepared plan. I cite from the statement of Mr. Horoscic, secretary of the Coordinating Council of FSN Fourth District: "Some FSN members were 'visited' at home by attackers. Their homes were ransacked, and attempts were even made on their lives. Ionel Petrea of our district was stabbed in his own home. So they left the offices alone to go after the people. The conclusion is that a genuine political coup was organized and carried out with precision, according to 'black lists' with the addresses of FSN members."

The FSN offices of the First District in Magheru Boulevard: Being located closer to the "area free of neocommunism," this building received periodical (both peaceful and violent) visits, which now we know were designed to "case the joint" and prepare for the attacks. I learned new details from Radu Albuleanu, secretary of the Coordinating Council: "'Delegations' arrive daily from University Square and we have 'discussions' with them on various topics. Once in a while we get a rock through the window. What amazes me is the confidence with which these individuals raise problems and make 'forecasts.' For example: Victory is close and it will be ours. What will you do when your Iliescu falls?"

On the night of 26 August the office was once again attacked. The windows were smashed with pavement bricks and metal balls. The doors were being broken down when the police arrived. But the biggest bomb was dropped on 29 August in the form of a "warning letter" from the United States addressed to this office. The warning came too late, but the letter was generously dated "August 1990."

The written warning, which was not a prank, provides crushing proof of the fact that the attacks on the FSN offices, which originated in the Square, were organized by leaders higher up than the crowds. In point of fact, the televized dialogue with City Hall proved beyond doubt the status of some of the "protesters." And since this is the time of revelations, we can inform you that warnings have also been received for September (further details later).

Taking advantage of these latest events, we were curious enough to compile a statistic of the violent acts organized against the Front, its members, and sympathizers. Here are the conclusions: weekly threats received by prominent members of Front organizations; people savagely beaten; weekly ransacking or arson of FSN offices throughout the country. All the damages caused were repaired with the help and at the expense of FSN members and sympathizers.

Genuine democracy! Which is further being "practiced" by the City Hall, too! Or rather, the former City Hall leadership. What offices were offered to the FSN, and what offices to the other parties? The FSN was relegated to haberdashery stores, flower shops, butcher shops, and other facilities unsuitable for party activities, which also permitted and facilitated devastating attacks, while other parties have offices like "fortresses."

Naturally, we are expecting our police force to take measures. There was no request for either a Parliamentary commission, UN protection, or the protection of the international public opinion! The opposition newspapers, which seethed with rage when reporting the "devastation" of the offices of other parties, are not saying a word now. The same with television. No one in this country knew why, when, and by whom the FSN offices and members were attacked. On the other hand, everything was reported about other "events," throughout the world, even before they happened...

Seeing this organization of hostile and antidemocratic forces, we tried to present, without lamentations and exaggerations, the situation of the government party and the respect shown the wishes of two thirds of the population.

You may draw your own conclusions.

Mures Parties Form Antitotalitarian Organization

AU0310110990 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 27 Sep 90 p 2

["Communique"]

[Text] The elected representatives of political, nonpolitical, and social organizations and associations in Mures

County held a joint meeting on 28 August 1990 and established the Mures Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum.

The participants in the meeting decided to adhere to the democratic desiderata of the Cluj Proclamation of the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum.

We have established this forum because we are concerned that the ideals of the December revolution are being increasingly threatened; that totalitarianism is reviving in the economic, social, and civic activity; that former local cadres of the nomenklatura or of other communist repression bodies are beginning to make their appearance in leading positions; and concerned that elements guilty of abuse during the former regime and of repression during the revolution have still not been brought to court. Moreover, obscure forces and elements of the former regime are perseveringly spreading the poison of intolerance and hatred among our fellow citizens.

We call for the unity of all democratic forces—political parties, trade union and civic organizations, independent figures, and so forth—within the Mures Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum.

Let us be guided by the common desire to establish genuine democracy in a prosperous and free country.

Let us cultivate love for our fellow beings, for our families, and for our children.

Let us be united in our thoughts and deeds. Our common cause is a just and noble cause.

May the Lord help us!
—National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party
—National Liberal Party
—Magyar Christian Democratic Party of Romania
—Magyar Peasants Party of Romania
—Association of Former Political Detainees
—21 December Association
—League for the Protection of Human Rights

Alliance of Democratic Union Established

AU0310104490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0928 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/10/1990—The Democratic Unity Party, the Progressive Democratic Party, the Christian Social Democratic Party, the Party for Honoring the Heroes of the Revolution and National Salvation and the Romanian Democratic Party agreed to make up an Alliance of Democratic Union.

As shown in a press release given to ROMPRES, the main purpose of the Democratic Union is national welfare and observance of general interests in a state of law. The union will cooperate and collaborate with the democratic political forces in Europe and all over the world, for the provision of best conditions of development and free and full assertion of all humans.

Deputies' Assembly Discusses Market Economy Issues

AU0210113490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0930 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/10/1990—The second session of the present Assembly of Deputies has been resumed in plenum Tuesday morning.

The deputies continue to debate and adopt the articles of the bill of trade register, which is another step towards creating the legal framework for a market economy.

* Omissions in Government Program Noted

90P20129A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian8 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Valentin Constantinescu article: "Promises, Omissions, Heart Failures in the Romanian Economy"]

[Excerpts] We listened with the maximum attention to the Declaration Program presented by Prime Minister Petre Roman and we followed with perseverence its repercussions in the press (obviously only partially since no one can cover the more than 1,000 publications in postrevolutionary Romania or even scan completely the 20-25 most important dailies and weeklies which are published in Bucharest). We were impressed by the fact ,to a great extent explainable, that these commentaries refer to the fact that the Declaration-Program includes and omits important and even essential chapters which it should have included or omitted: the establishment of a real democracy and medical care. The fact that the largest part of the declaration-program was devoted to the national economy is justified, if we take into account the precarious situation (euphemistically speaking) of the economy. It has been said that the program is modern and that it is promising (in our opinion, this is true for industry and trade, but not for agriculture). According to various opinions, some of them rather risky, the economic program has been characterized as being social-democratic. Social-democratic with neoliberal nuances. Or even neoliberal. But, no matter how important it might be to achieve economic recovery, this does not exempt us from the absolute obligation to include in the Declaration-Program a chapter aimed at the achievement of a really democratic political life, that is, a pure and simple democracy. [passage omitted] Democracy is a single entity; it exists or it does not exist.

Even from the point of view of the need to achieve economic recovery and of the conditions necessary for moving on to a market economy—not to mention the values of democratic political life—the establishment of democracy is indispensable. We must not continue to be charmed by the Marxist thesis of the determining influence of economics over politics, without clearly noting the major influence of politics on economics, as the history of Russia and the Eastern European countries during this century shows. A careful study of the months since the December Revolution and, in particular, the

results of the events in mid-June of this year also prove this fact. The Declaration-Program recognizes that the attraction of foreign capital and portfolio investments and joint ventures would have a beneficial influence. The prime minister confined himself to stating euphemistically: "Unfortunately, the international atmosphere is not favorable to us now" (that is, after the events of 13-15 June—ROMANIA LIBERA note). A high official of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry stated in Parliament that, because of these events, Western businessmen have cut off discussions; it seems that this situation is not unique and that it exists in other areas of the national economy. A businessman of Romanian origin, Ion Tiriac, whose good intentions toward Romania, we believe, cannot be questioned by anyone, stated in an interview that the events last month (June) set us back by at least two or three years. Instead of giving contradictory explanations, offering flimsy excuses and claiming that foreign governments do not really understand the government's attachment to political pluralism , the new government (since it is a new government even though the Prime Minister is the same!)—keeping in mind the fact that the protection of basic human rights and freedoms, the establishment of a state of law and the existence of an effective political opposition represent essential values of a democracy—should publicly and firmly condemn both the people who set fire to the headquarters of the capital police and the Ministry of the Interior and the ones who sacked Romanian Television and the so-called miners who sacked Bucharest University and the Architecture Institute (destroying laboratories as well as scientific works and doctoral theses which had been collected over many decades), as well as the headquarters of some democratic opposition parties, the headquarters of the Association of Former Political Prisoners and Victims of the Dictatorship (very significant),and the headquarters of some independent democratic newspapers, the so-called miners who savagely beat students and other citizens, molested two members of Parliament, were abusive towards some diplomats, ransacked the residence of a democratic politician and ravaged the houses of some gypsies.

The first condition for being a social democrat is to be a democrat; among the fundamental values of modern social-democracy—freedom, social justice, and solidarity—freedom occupies first place. We believe that it is obvious to everybody that it is not possible to achieve the Swedish society—which we desire—by going through Tienanmen Square. The lack of a special chapter on medical care in the Declaration-Program is exceedingly unjustified, for many reasons. In the first place, Romania, in the final years of the Ceausescu dictatorship, was the only country in Europe in which, according to the popular expression, "one died with the days": The hospitals (and also the pharmacies) did not have the indispensable medicines; postoperative equipment "was used over and over again," which sometimes resulted in fatal infections; the equipment in operating rooms was outmoded; the medical staffs—which had many eminent physicians—did not any opportunity to get documentation up to world standards. Added to these things was the lack of heat in the polyclinics and hospitals and sometimes the lack of electric power. Inhuman demographic legislation compelled young women to risk and sometimes to lose their lives as a result of self-induced abortions. While newborn babies were kept in unallowably low temperatures during the winter ("the survival of the fittest," the wife of the dictator used to say with cynicism, in her capacity as first deputy prime minister) in accordance with equally inhuman "directives." "Salvarea" [the rescue squad] was greatly restricted in regard to the hospitalization of the elderly.

After the December Revolution, the inhuman demographic legislation was abrogated. But, despite the generous humanitarian assistance received from numerous countries, the pharmacies still lack indispensable medicines and the hospitals still lack the necessary medicines and modern medical apparatus and equipment. Perhaps these painful realities are not acutely felt by those who benefit from special medical care, just as a person cannot become aware of a lack of food as long as he is being supplied by closed circuit units. Secondly, the absence of a chapter dealing with medical care is surprising since Silviu Brucan, who is considered to be the ideologist of the National Salvation Front, presented the principal social objectives in a television interview a few days after the December Revolution (and repeated later). These objectives were: food, heat, light, medical care, and public transportation. Thirdly, but no less importantly, special attention to medical care is obligatory for a social-democratic program, since it is known that the European social-democrats have been able to obtain exemplary results in this domain.

We mentioned earlier that we think that the new economic program of the government is promising—but only for industry and trade and not for agriculture. We consider that the statement "agriculture is the best bet won by the provisional government" has no basis and that the idea that the handing over of the land for use is a "real agrarian reform" is an erroneous idea. The problem of Romanian agriculture can be resolved only after the agricultural producers become the owners of the land. The reference to agricultural associations in France and Italy is inappropriate since, in these cases, it is a question of free associations of agricultural landowners and not of agricultural production cooperatives which are the result of forced cooperativization achieved, on the one hand, by illusory promises, and, on the other hand, by acts of violence, ranging from threats to imprisonment and assassinations. In regard to the results—in order to be conclusive and decisive—we will refer only to communist sources: At the 20th Congress of the CPSU, N.S. Khruschev stated that, at the time of Stalin's death in 1953, agricultural production was lower than in 1913, and, upon the departure of Khrushchev in 1964, L. Brezhnev said that agricultural yields were lower than in 1953; therefore, after 51 years, including more than 35 years of collectivized agriculture—under conditions of

incomparably better equipping with agricultural machines and chemical fertilizers—agricultural yields in the USSR decreased.

In Romania, after the December Revolution, it was stated that the yield of 60,000 tons of grain, reported by Nicolae Ceausescu for 1989, was really approximately 18,000 tons. In addition, the year 1944, used by the Ceausescu-Communist dictatorship during recent years, represents a statistical farce, since Romania had war operations on its territory that year so the agricultural campaign (sowing and harvesting) could not take place normally. Let us remember that during the last years of the dictatorship, Nicolae Ceausescu himself admitted, in a party and state document, that 30 percent (?) of the vegetable yields remained unharvested; and this took place in a situation in which soldiers, students, pupils and functionaries "were mobilized to engage in patriotic work" in agriculture! Let us not forget that 123 percent of the agricultural area, representing the noncooperativized sector, gave the country 56 percent of the vegetables, 40 percent of the fruit and 44 percent of the meat.

The government must liberate itself decisively not only from Marxist ideology but also from the collectivist mentality and it must understand that, while the industrial worker was always salaried, the peasant was an agricultural landowner and became collectivized—against his will. It is worthy of note that in the study "Transition from Planned to Market Economy," published simultaneously in France, the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania, (see ROMANIA LIBERA, 15-21 February 1990), Lionel Stoleru, state secretary for planning in France, thinks that it is indispensable that small private landowners in agriculture be allowed immmediately and encouraged.

In regard to the especially important and serious problems which have been noted—the establishment of a real democracy, medical care, agriculture—we believe that it is necessary that the government demonstrate courage in dealing with these matters with lucidity, free of partisan interests, mentalities and dogmas, demonstrating intelligence in proposing measures for the resolution of these problems as quickly as possible in the most suitable manner.

* Independent Forum Appeals for Members

90BA0305D Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Aug 90 p 2

[Article including an appeal to independents by Octavian Buracu of the Independent Forum and an interview of Buracu by Petru Clej; place and date not given]

[Text] The results of the 20 May elections are known.

They testify to the existence of a sole political party which will dominate the country's political and parliamentary life until the next local or parliamentary elections.

In the electoral contest, independent candidates—mostly prominent figures in the world of art, science, and culture—did not do well, especially because they ran by themselves in this confrontation and lacked both money and the means of properly organizing and running an electoral campaign. In view of the fact that we need the active presence in the political, social, and economic life of the country of all the citizens without a political affiliation but conscious of the particular importance at this time of an attitude of responsible independence, we appeal to them to rally within a Romanian Independent Forum [FIR]. This Forum is designed to become an alternative of broad civic interest in the current political situation, in which there is practically no strong opposition such as is required for a truly democratic political climate.

We appeal to all the people without a political affiliation, to all the citizens of good faith, all the young people, and all the social categories trivialized in one way or another in our society (retirees, students, handicapped, families of victims of the December Revolution, former political detainees, etc.) to contact us so that we can together work on organizing this FIR and drafting a common program, which should feature in a broad consensus the options and principles of struggle against communism, for freedom, democracy, humanitarianism, brotherhood, and prosperity in our country.

We also appeal to all the independent members of county, municipal, town, and communal Provisional National Unity Councils throughout the country—which have recently been arbitrarily dismantled—to contribute to establishing FIR centers at local and regional levels.

We have recently witnessed a wave of highly emotional and hopeful support that impels us to intensify our efforts to organize the FIR.

We appeal to all Romanian citizens who did not serve communism to help implement the generous principles promoted by the FIR for the full benefit of Romanian society that has suffered and continues to suffer so greatly.

Dr. Octavian C. Buracu
No. 58, 22 December Ave.,
Cluj 3400
ATLAS—FREE CLUJ

We Want To Tone Down Extremist Tendencies

[Clej] Mr. Octavian Buracu, what is the latest about the FIR?

[Buracu] This forum became a necessity after the 20 May elections. Currently political life is completely dominated by one party. The traditional and the newly formed parties turned out to be rather weak. Reputable personalities from the world of science and culture also ran in the elections as independent candidates. However, without financial resources and without a well organized electoral campaign, the independents failed almost

across the board. In view of this situation, we considered the possibility of rallying all those who are in favor of an independent position in one forum. We noted that many of the truly outstanding figures in the areas of science, culture, and sports in Cluj and throughout the country kept their distance and continue to be uninvolved and not to participate in politics. Also, many young people and students did not find a spiritual niche and thus did not join any political group. All these people on the outside should be incorporated in this Forum, which should struggle to resolve the problems confronting the Romanian nation. We declare ourselves independent. Of course, there is no such thing as absolute independence. We have not yet drafted a program; we want to do it together, once the Forum is better structured and organized. At this stage, we had talks in Cluj with the initiative committee at which we proposed seeking material advantages for certain neglected social categories: retirees, students, handicapped, invalids and families of casualties of the December Revolution, and former political detainees. People must realize that we struggle for them, so we must reinforce our image in society. We were impressed with the wave of support elicited by the publication of our appeal in the press. To a certain extent, this Forum will make up for the dismantled local Provisional National Unity Councils. Independents, too, belonged to those councils. I myself was invited to candidate on the NSF [National Salvation Front] list, but I refused in order to maintain my independent status, which fits my political beliefs. Thus, the independents who belonged to these recently dismantled local bodies can become the hardcore of the future Forum. At the same time, I want to get in touch with similar Forums in other East European countries—the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary—to learn from their organization. We don't want the center of this Forum to be in Cluj; I think it is only natural that it should be in Bucharest. We expect to coopt personalities who can draw many supporters around them. However, my hope is that this Forum will be joined by 'clean' people, people who did not 'lend a hand' to the destruction of this country under the Communist dictatorship, of the type of paid activists who 'labored' hard to bring us to the present situation.

[Clej] What is the attitude of the other political parties toward your initiative?

[Buracu] There has not been any hostility, but no applause either! You see, between 1929-31 my father was a senator for the National Peasant Party [NPP] and I was and remained emotionally attached to that party, but at this stage I find it obsolete. Well, the NPP published an article in PATRIA of Cluj, in which it expressed its dissatisfaction and claimed that we want to take away people from their party. We have not appealed to the members of any party, neither the NSF, nor the PNL [National Liberal Party], nor any other party; we appealed to those who until now have sat on the fences. However, there have been cases of members of those parties who expressed a wish to join us.

[Clej] What will be your political strategy?

[Buracu] Once we are registered as an organization, we are convinced that we will become a political force and will run in the elections so as to be able to actually do something for our supporters by including them in various power structures at central and local level.

[Clej] What will be the political orientation of the Forum?

[Buracu] As I stressed before, we do not start out with any preconceived ideas. At such a troubled time as this in the country's political life, when there is so much tension, the FIR must offer a means of equilibrium. Once again I want to state that we are not against the Front; we don't want to pull down the NSF. Our intentions are good. We will be as resolute as possible, but at the same time we will seek to achieve a political balance in our country. Take, for example, the situation between Romanians and Hungarians. We must admit that both the UDMR [Democratic Union of Romanian Magyars] and Vatra Romaneasca have some extremist tendencies, which we will seek to tone down. This line of confrontation cannot continue in Romania's politics.

* Caramitru on Elections, Demonstrations

90BA0305A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 30 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "The Confessions of Mr. Ion Caramitru"]

[Text] In issue No. 31 of the excellent publication EXPRES, its director Cornel Nistorescu published a very interesting talk with the well known and admired theater personality Ion Caramitru. As is known, Mr. Caramitru was one of the main heroes of the December 1989 national insurrection who stepped into a prominent position as vice chairman of CPUN [Provisional National Unity Council].

From the statements cited by the director of EXPRES we learned that:

1. Ion Caramitru was never a partisan of the National Salvation Front [FSN].

2. In contrast to unfounded statements by FSN leaders, there was never any danger that those who viewed themselves as the "emanation" of the revolution may be ousted from power.

3. The opposition never intended to stage any coup d'etat. (Consequently, all the statements denouncing the "threat of a coup d'etat" are either groundless or pretexts).

4. Regarding the FSN's participation in the elections, the clearly stated decision was that the provisional leaders would not candidate in the election. (Which once again confirms what representatives of the opposition and Mr. Dumitru Mazilu repeatedly said, namely that the leaders

reneged on their firm pledge to remain independent and neutral and not to interfere in the electoral contest).

5. Ion Caramitru described the event of 12 February 1990 as a "betrayal" committed by the FSN leaders "out of either weakness or competitiveness."

6. Ion Caramitru opined (wrongly, in our view) that when he remained in position and did not leave the FSN Council (together with Doina Cornea and Ana Blandiana), it was a good move, designed to preserve a "real balance between power and reality" from inside the council itself (which deviated from the observance of its initial principles).

7. Ion Caramitru said that on 28 January 1990 the traditional parties requested that the Front be "legitimized" and demanded equal rights for all the political parties in the electoral campaign (the request was that the Front, which until then had had no political affiliation, relinquish the political powers it had accumulated—our note). He specified that the goal was not a coup d'etat (as was claimed in official statements), and that if that had been the objective, it would have succeeded! He then added that he categorically and even "desperately" opposed the organization of the counter-demonstration of 28 January 1990 and the reprisal ordered by the FSN the next day, and that he tried to avert that big mistake, triggered by panic and by "an attempt to keep up a political position."

8. Ion Caaramitru stressed the mistakes made by the political leaders in connection with the ethnic confrontations in Tirgu Mures; the elusive maneuvers employed about the solemn pledge to dismantle the dictatorial securitate; and the inexplicable refusal to establish a (obligatory) dialogue with the students' leagues who demonstrated in the University Square. He confessed that his good faith was deceived by all these reprehensible attitudes.

9. Ion Caramitru emphasized the great responsibility carried by television, which practiced disinformation on the public, took a partisan attitude, and incited to violence.

10. Ion Caramitru expressed fear of future violent confrontations between the political leadership and the population. He stated that the old structures of the Communist dictatorship have been restored. He fears that communism will be reborn in Romania "from its own ashes." He firmly condemned the violent events of 14-15 June 1990 and viewed the "appearance of the miners as the greatest political mistake made after the revolution."

The conclusion resulting from Mr. Ion Caramitru's interview was that all the measures kept secret from the Romanian public and which elicited the popular protests, can be traced back to a handful of ambitious politicians made up of Messers. Iliescu, Brucan, and Roman.

* Report on Brasov Meeting of 'Resistance'

90BA02318D Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Sep 90 p 2

[Mirela Roznoveanu article: "Reconciliation and Solidarity"]

[Text] As we announced last week on 7, 8, and 9 September, the "15 November 1987" movement of Brasov organized a convention of the Romanian Resistance members in that city.

In the first day of the meeting at the city's Culture Club, the atmosphere—which from the beginning was touted as very frank—was particularly tense. Together in the same hall were not only the miners who had participated in the Jiu Valley strike of 1977, but also the miners who had been involved in the 14-15 June events in Bucharest, next to their victims. The miners began by refusing to justify themselves, stating that all the conclusions of those events will be presented by the Parliamentary commission of investigation. In his speech, Marian Munteanu spoke about the University Square phenomenon, which began on 21 December 1989 and will continue for as long as it is necessary, until the ideals of the revolution are attained and until communism disappears from Romania. Marian Munteanu said he didn't view the miners as primarily guilty for what happened on 14 and 15 June in Bucharest, because they had fallen victims to manipulation and, while he didn't exonerate them, he could understand them, and "only God can forgive them their brutality." The real guilty ones, Marian Munteanu stressed, were those who incited them to violence. Taking the floor in response, Mr. Miron Cosma, leader of the Jiu Valley Miners' League [JVML] said he felt he had been ambushed, because he had thought that the discussion would be on the 1977 strike, not the 14-15 June, and added that only "some of the things that Mr. Marian Munteanu said were true." Asked by Marian Munteanu whether he continued to claim that only part of what he had said was true, Miron Cosma reconfirmed, following which the members of the presidium—Marian Munteanu, Ana Blandiana, Mihai Sora, Radu Filipescu, Mircea Sevaciuc, and Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu got up and left the hall. Things returned to a more even keel after the appeal to reconciliation launched by Mr. Adrian Moruzi of the group "Opinion—for Information and Social Dialogue" of Brasov and the call to solidarity of poetess Ana Blandiana.

Among the speeches delivered that day we noted that of Paul Becheanu about the Romanian emigration and its causes; the political analysis of the situation in Romania by Stelian Tanase; and the comments of Doru Mihit of the Timisoara Society on the problem of communication between miners and intellectuals.

Saturday was marked by what I would call a miracle. The speakers—Mircea Sevaciuc, Stelian Tanase, Ana Blandiana (with her inspired definition: "solidarity is the superlative of freedom"), Smaranda Enache, Mihai Sora, Marian Munteanu, Dumitru Iuga, Constantin Ticu

Dumitrescu, Anghel Vasile, chairman of the 15 November Association, Ana Sincai, Eugen Droga of CADA [Action Committee for Democratization of the Army], and Vasile Gogea spoke about truth as the only solution to the country's social crisis, about the artificial division between social categories and nationalities and who stood to profit from it, about generalized confusion and suspicion, disinformation, scenarios aimed at divisiveness, and the totalitarianism kept alive by the former Communist structures still maintained by the current government (a continued structure recreates the reality that generated it).

The miracle I mentioned occurred when Miron Cosma, the leader of the JVML, after introducing his delegation, read a JVML communique in which, after commending the idea of a convention of the Romanian Resistance in Brasov, he proposed the idea of "active resistance"; asserted the struggle against extremism of any kind; stressed the need for dialogue between representatives of the students and of the League, and clearly stated: "We want to assure you that we will use every possible means to unearth the truth about 13-15 June. It must be understood that the miners are not the only ones guilty for all that happened. We must find the ones morally responsible for those events. Attempts are being made to create divisiveness among social categories. The miners were the first to fall in that trap."

The audience applauded the communique, which we hope was written with the best intentions. On the stage, Marian Munteanu embraced the miners' leader in a first show of national solidarity and reconciliation.

On Sunday 9 September at 1100 hours a meeting was held in the Assembly Square. In the presence of thousands of Brasov residents who shouted "Down with Communism," and "Freedom," the speakers reasserted the need to struggle against the Communist structures, lies, and ethnic hostility, and to establish freedom and democracy in the country. The final communique of the convention, signed by all the organizations present, was read. The communique summarized all the discussions held, and sounded like a genuine program for a "moral parliament" of the nation—to quote Vasile Gogea—expressing the need for truly democratic laws, for dismantling the Communist and totalitarian structures, bridging artificial divisions, creating real conditions for liberalization, respect for human rights, and an Army serving the people, rather the interests of a certain group or individual.

To the applause of several thousands of people, the audience chanted "Marian Munteanu" and the group of speakers were escorted to the Hotel Aro.

"We didn't think that we could achieve so much," Mircea Sovaciuc, the leader of the 15 November Movement confessed. "We realize that an extremely important step was taken during these days, which we will continue on. We will soon meet in the Jiu Valley at the invitation of the miners. We can all achieve agreement if we sit down to talk. We have the same ideals. Let us erase the shameful image of Romanians fighting Romanians."

* Brucan Interviews, Iliescu Trips Viewed

90BA0319D Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 9 Sep 90 p 1

[Florin Gabriel Marculescu article]

[Text] Fall has come not only on the calendar, but with weather to match; the wave of cold weather and dour rain that have descended upon us without warning help to remind us how ill prepared we are for a winter whose unforeseeable hardships already make us extremely uncomfortable. Against the background of a seriously affected economy seemingly incapable of returning even to a modicum of normalcy, the cold season is showing its fangs and all kinds of shortages are multiplying at an alarming rate. And no signs are yet in sight of our hoped for recovery. And that despite theoretically judicious and faultlessly documented governmental programs and promises, which are nevertheless difficult, if not impossible to implement in view of our paucity of financial resources and especially of the catastrophic isolation of our rulers in the international arena. President Ion Iliescu's trip to Yugoslavia, however meritorious its results, has not even made a crack in the solid walls which the authorities, persevering in their errors, managed to erect around us, thus relegating us to the shadowy corners of the European continent. It must be clear to anyone that without the aid, technology, and investments of Western countries we will not be able to pull ourselves out of the economic bog in which we are floundering, however well intentioned and balanced the laws initiated by the government and then passed through complex parliamentary filters in the hope of best settling our national economy. The progress made toward the democratization of our social and political life is more in the wrappings than the contents; even so the progress is extremely slow and without any visible impact on the basic structures of the society. Profound reforms, dialogue, and political openness continue to remain mere desiderata, even if the virtues of democracy are loudly touted. The separation of powers in the state is often cited, but only in order to justify the blind aggressiveness of the power.

In a recent interview for BBC, Mr. Silviu Brucan, concerned about the forthcoming meeting of the Common Market foreign ministers, said that Romania's rulers should undertake resolute actions to convince Europe that we want to become integrated in it and to overcome the present stage at which Romania is penalized by being excluded from any aid and cooperation program in Europe. I request, he said, more decisive steps toward democratization and privatization in the economy, before the above mentioned conference. These ideas were repeated and developed by Mr. Brucan in an interview broadcast on our television last Wednesday at a late hour of the night. The interview was characteristic of him: It abounded in inflammatory statements and

views delivered in a downright provocative manner, but which did not overstep the limits of a "verbal duel" designed to shake us out of our political paralysis. Let us not forget that this guest of the television was one of the founding members of the Front, from whose leadership he resigned in January, something that does not prevent him from continuing to view himself as a faithful foot soldier of this political movement. Normally, these attributes should facilitate the access of his views to the hearing of those interested. As a veteran former Stalinist, Mr. Brucan was one of those who drafted, or with greater respect for the truth, amended in a restrictive manner the platform-program of the CFSN [National Salvation Front Council] of December 1989, and later fully backed the Front's decision to run in the elections, in spite of all the initial promises. In the meantime, armed with a more acute political sense and with a considerable dosage of pragmatism, Mr. Brucan distanced himself from the rigid stances and especially from the mistakes of his colleagues, having realized full well that in the current circumstances, merely aping democracy can only lead us to a sordid back alley, rather than to the European front rooms of our dreams. Our leaders, he noted, are circling in place and showing great political sectarianism. Mr. Brucan deplored the lack of receptivity of the country's president and of the prime minister.

In the area of economic realities, Mr. Brucan compared privatization to a tethered horse; all initiatives run against the dead wall of a legislation adopted with annoying short sightedness: Our incipient economic liberalization was envisaged at a very petty scale. In general, these are things that are known and have been debated in our newspaper, so we find it superfluous to dwell on them. Professor Brucan's criticism of both President Iliescu and Prime Minister Roman is that they don't know how a democracy and a market economy really work in practice, nor do they want to learn. He was equally dissatisfied with the current situation in the FSN which, "from a very dynamic body populated by men full of enthusiasm and idealism, has turned into a mere tool of power that does nothing but talk about prefect, mayoral, or counselor jobs or how to organize presidential offices," and whose mania for secrecy has reached unimaginable proportions.

Mr. Brucan is pained because no one is doing anything about organizing the congress announced, which should provide this heterogenous political movement with an ideology, a democratic structure, and the necessary leadership, while at the same time accepting the existence of political factions, such as the ones that proved very beneficial for major parties in Japan, Italy, and France (when shall we see a Brucan faction?). I spoke harshly, Mr. Brucan said in concluding, because democracy, far from being a soft political form, must be very tough, must carry authority, and must penalize with equal severity both anarchic elements at the bottom of the hierarchy, and those at the top who make mistakes. We unreservedly share Mr. Brucan's latter views.

However, we must not imagine that Mr. Brucan intends to abandon Mr. Iliescu. On the contrary. But on some conditions, which he presentedvery clearly: "President Iliescu would do well to leave alone the past, which is not to his advantage, and concentrate instead on the present, in which he has demonstrated noteworthy statesmanship qualities. I think he doesn't need to insist on the fact that he was a dissident in 1971, because as all Romanians know, Ceausescu was not really in the habit of appointing dissidents as ministers or first secretaries of county party organizations. May political wisdom prevail upon Ion Iliescu to decide to look only to the future and not to the past. If he does, I am willing to support him with all my strength." We must admit that Mr. Brucan does not lack political skills. Aware of the difficulties with which the Front and the present rulers are wrestling, he seems to suggest an alternative solution, subtly playing both sides and ready at any moment to rescue his family in a disinterested manner. His criticism may seem harsh but it does not attack the foundation.

Whatever the truth, it seems that this time Mr. Brucan's advice fell on more receptive ears. According to last minute reports, on Friday Mr. Iliescu held first meetings with representatives of opposition parties. So far of the National Liberal Party and National Christian-Democratic Peasant Party. On the other hand, at a meeting with Brasov workers, Mr. Roman reasserted the government's intention to speed up the rate of economic reforms, a return to the old structures being unimaginable. Also on Friday night we learned about the Front's convention; it was reported that the acting chairman of this body is Mr. Roman himself. These are truly sensational news, to which we have to add the Front's "initiative" to organize local elections. The avalanche of openings toward democracy may acquire unsuspected proportions. Something that can only please us. However, do we have enough time left to regain the trust of Europe?

* Prospects for Market Economy Weighed

90BA0317A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11, 12 Sep 90

[Interview with Minister Adrian Severin by Petre Clej; place and date not given]

[11 Sep pp 1, 3]

[Text] [Clej] Mr. Adrian Severin, we know that you are the youngest minister—you are only 36—to have a Ph.D. in law, and are in a way the "wunderkind" of the current government. Since this is your first interview for ROMANIA LIBERA, please tell us more about yourself.

[Severin] I was graduated from the Law School, where I was first in my class, after which I worked as a foreign trade consultant. Practically speaking, all my work has been in connection with international trade law. I taught a postgraduate foreign trade class at the Academy of Social and Political Studies, which was the only school that trained people for foreign trade professions. I know

that my class was appreciated. I wrote a legal textbook for international trade and comparative commercial law, which was in fact the only such study published in Romania. I worked and continue working as an international trade arbiter at the International Chamber of Commerce, where I have done extremely interesting work. At a time when our law was kept under wraps, this Court of Arbitrage carried out perhaps the most substantial legal activities, and was in fact a haven for jurists. Consulting, too, is a very complex area. It gave me an opportunity to learn many useful things in various areas, even about certain technological processes. All these factors allowed me to come into very useful contact—especially for our present concerns—with market economies. Many of our foreign partners are astonished to find that I have a rather comprehensive understanding of market economy mechanisms. Precisely this concentration on a sector preponderently oriented toward international economy allowed me to accumulate information and to develop reflexes that are particularly useful to me today.

[Clej] You seem to be the government's jack of all trades. You have been put in charge of the reform. This is a very broad notion. Explain to us in greater detail what you are doing in this respect.

[Severin] Currently I am running a council for reform and public information and relations—this is its complete title. As you noted, the reform is very comprehensive. One of my favorite ideas is to approach the reform in a comprehensive manner. A partial or truncated approach would be wrong and could lead us toward wrong conclusions and results that would only serve to create tension in all the areas. I am referring to political and economic democracy. The market economy is a system of economic democracy that may well be criticized by many from a theoretical viewpoint, but which is eminently tenable from a practical viewpoint. In other words, the political reform must go hand in hand with the economic reform. If there is too great a gap between the two, tensions appear. If at a given moment there are many political freedoms but very limited economic opportunities, a political pressure emerges that inhibits the development of the economic domain. And obversely, if there is great economic progress, but political democracy is lagging behind, economic development is obstructed by the lack of opportunity for political expression. The two reforms must be pursued in optimal accord with the capacity of understanding of the masses. The problem is very delicate; we cannot talk of social reform, because the idea of reform makes it necessary to be able to intervene directly to change certain structures or mechanisms. Such interventions are not possible in the social domain, especially from the viewpoint of the ggovernment, which must leave room for a certain self-renewal. Many reformers, throughout history, thought things out very well, but omitted the fact that the people was not ready to receive their reforms. So far, the people don't have the necessary practice to evaluate the reform, which is only normal after so many years of communism. The people want reform, they know what must be done but they don't know how it should be done; they are not accustomed to evaluating the short, average, and long-term results of the reform and compare them with the results of a counterreform (stagnation). For certain social categories, particularly for industry workers, the reform may bring certain disadvantages in the short run. The reform will imply more work, greater competence, and taking risks, not the least of which is the risk of unemployment. However, if we don't decide to pay this price for the short term, not only will we not have the advantages of the reform for the average and long term, but we will probably register a slower and thus less visible deterioration, but which will be far more profound and difficult to overcome than if we decide to quickly pay the price I mentioned.

[Clej] A shock therapy?

[Severin] I tend to avoid that term because it does not describe the situation precisely. Shock itself is something relative. What may be a shock to me may be a slow process to someone else, or vice-versa. This formula is extremely interesting from the viewpoint of socioeconomic phenomenology. Anyway, we must speed up the reform precisely in order to not allow time for the emergence of secondary negative economic phenomena. Thus, it is in the interests of the people to speed up the reform. Such negative and painful phenomena cannot be avoided, but by shortening the period of implementation of the reform we can shorten the period of difficulties. We are being faced by a very contradictory phenomenon: on the one hand there is understandable impatience, but on the other hand there is fear. In a way, we find ourselves between the devil and a hard place. Many of the workers in industry are very young and come from a rural environment. They have had relatively limited training and don't have many industrial skills. The situation is completely different from the agriculture. The senseless development of our industry and the megalomania that irresponsibly marked our industrial development, also greatly inflated the number of poorly qualified workers in industry. I hope to be correctly understood: there are many qualified, serious, and disciplined workers in industry, too, but the too rapid development of our industrial capacities did not ignore only the paucity of material resources, but also the shortage of human resources. The shortage of material resources continued, while the shortage of human resources was supplemented by pseudo-resources, thus creating all the problems we have today. Behind the slogan with which we are all in agreement, 'Down with Communism,' individual discussions in fact highlight a wish to return to communism. Asked what this slogan meant to them, some people said that the state must keep prices under control, ensure jobs, continue to provide resources for the factories, and continue to market their products, regardless of whether there is market demand for them or not; economically speaking, this is not anticommunism, but the opposite. When it comes to explaining their position, people who honestly shout

'Down with Communism,' involuntarily bring up the only mechanisms they know, which they wrongly believe can bring them wellbeing. This is one of the major contradictions with which the Romanian society has to wrestle. To paraphrase one of Churchill's bon mots, I would said that the market economy is the worst economic system, except for all the others. The communist model seemed very tempting, ideal even, and that is why it should have been suspect. In practice it turned out to have been the opposite. Aside from the department in charge of planning the reform, we need a department for the social-political structures of the society, designed to study these structures—in fact, an ongoing dialogue with the various social categories, that should permit us to evaluate the reactions to the reform. A third department must be in charge of mass information; so the problem is not only one of doctrine, concept, and law, but also of projecting a correct image of what we are doing, so as to be able to achieve the openness we want and which is absolutely indispensable. This is how we can get answers to the measures we take. This may be what gave you the impression of a jack of all trades: we are covering a broad spectrum and we must not be absent from any process taking place in the society. Relations with Parliament are only one aspect.

[Clej] What is your view of the clash of ideas you had with Mr. Birladeanu?

[Severin] Clashes of ideas are something positive that can foster progress. They are also inevitable at a time when we are endeavoring to quickly shift from an old system to a new system without benefit of a similar model in the world, and that is why the solutions are new and may sometimes appear to be shocking. Of course, differences of opinions can emerge among people equally concerned for the country's problems. Some are in favor of a more daring reform with its inherent risks, while others are afraid of such risks. Optimism was on the side of the government, which does not mean that Parliament may not in the future take its turn at pursuing more far-reaching reforms than the government.

[12 Sep pp 1, 3]

[Clej] One of the essential aspects of the reform is privatization. Not much has been done so far along that line.

[Severin] There has been very little time. People in neighboring countries have taken years to do it. We adopted a law for which others needed much longer. But there are other things, equally important though less spectacular. For example, assessing the assets of the enterprises and studies to streamline them, something that marks an absolutely essential stage. Then there is the matter of breaking the monopolies and establishing economic units whose profitability will be easier to ascertain. We will enable managers to work more efficiently at the head of smaller enterprises. Few people are capable of managing industrial giants. This is just one process that is already underway, but is less visible. Another one is forging the doctrinaire and legislative foundation of the reform. Work is proceeding intensively and the results will soon be published. Privatization is not the miracle answer, it is only one part of a much broader process, but there are obstacles, and this is something that must be emphasized. The greatest objective obstacle is the discrepancy between resources and capacities. If we were to ignore the existing situation, we would have an economic disaster on our hands. The social consequences of abruptly eliminating unprofitable enterprises can have incalculable effects. We must find some way of spreading the poverty and the insufficient resources and must continue to subsidize factories for a time, but it is an obstacle. We cannot have three systems: a centralized one, a market one, and a mixed one. There is no mixed system. When we speak of transition we are referring to a technical moment, not a mixed system. Every time we intervene to help balance accounts, make an allocation, or provide the slightest steering, these are all obstacles. The subjective element comes from the failure to understand the process, and we don't like what we don't understand.

[Clej] Do you have problems with the bureaucracy?

[Severin] That's another category. The reform presents no advantages for poorly trained workers: They have to work harder and better, and they have to match the competition. Diligent and competent employees are not afraid of the reform. I am convinced that our intelligentsia is a natural ally of the reform. It can be rescued from the present trivialization only by competence, so it has nothing to fear. Bureaucracy is another matter. When your job depends on the existence of an inefficient economy, the shift to an efficient economy is not to your advantage. It has nothing to do with ignorance, but it has everything to do with a category that, although not numerous relative to the entire society, it occupies some 'nerve centers,' is parasitic, and can impede progress. I am not in favor of taking a violent approach to these people, nor am I as naive as to believe that we could achieve the perfect social harmony that communism relied on, and that we can devise opportunities for collective joy for everyone, but we must endeavor to offer them other alternatives. We don't want to create another trivialized category; we don't believe in getting one man up from the table so that another can take his place. We are meeting with resistance in this respect. It is clear that while some people can be recycled perfectly well, others have trouble readjusting. This means that we must be permanently on our toes and in a state of alert. I hope that the intelligentsia particularly will abandon the reserve it has maintained so far. It must play a dual role: on the one hand it can associate itself professionally with the government, while on the other hand it must become the militant conscience of the nation, striving to explain to those who for one reason or another don't understand or are slow in grasping the mechanisms and gains of the reform, because when all is said and done, gains are the remainder between income and expenditures. One needs to understand the mechanism in order

to correctly assess the gain. The peasantry, a category as humiliated as the intelligentsia, must also support the reform. The peasantry has reacted excellently to this incipient market economy. I have been in touch with agricultural workers, and some of them gave me real lessons in market economy. If things go smoothly, including the distribution of land to farmers, next year we may not have to worry about food anymore. As for industry employees, we should tell them that the time has come to aspire to greater things and to acquire a taste for a better life; they may have had ensured housing, but it was miserable housing. and they may have had the security of minimum amounts of food as the consequence of minimum salaries, but it was miserable food. They must aspire for greater happiness and real individual wellbeing. This is not individualism, but a collective personalism in which each person can live for himself in the midst of a collective. People no longer have to live for the coming generations. In the wake of the reform we plan the state will not take a paternalistic attitude anymore, but will give the individual a chance, and that is a lot. We won't do like the father who gives the child a toy, but will say to the child, you go and get it. And if the child can do it, he will have it. But hope will be far greater than under an omniscient paternalistic state.

[Clej] So far you have spoken as a technocrat. Nevertheless, you are a politician. You were elected deputy on the NSF [National Salvation Front] list and you ran for the chairmanship of the Assembly of Deputies. You were "beaten to the finish" by a member of the nomenklatura. You had the support of the opposition, which gave you almost all your votes. How do ynou explain this?

[Severin] I think that our parties, including the NSF, are only now structuring themselves. I personally am in favor of political pluralism; the parties serve as lab dishes in which certain government programs are germinating. After half a century of dictatorship it was impossible that final structures should be established in only six months. The Romanian society is having very serious problems. Views are almost unanimous about defining these problems. It is therefore quite possible that at a certain point the barriers between one party and the next may become fluid. We have not yet gotten to the point of nuances, our problems are still massive. The parties are now in the process of redefining themselves. We don't have 100 government programs, which is the number of parties in existence. I think that I am honest enough and moderate enough to be viewed as a sincere partner for dialogue by any political group. Consequently, within a certain context, the opposition supported me. This was not an exception in our parliamentary life. It is not a bad thing that there is yet no strict party discipline. Even if parliamentary debates are somewhat delayed, this makes it possible to defuse some of the tensions still existing among political groups. Strict party discipline may appear as an element of constraint and may prevent this discharge of hatred accumulated in the course of time. At present the limits are not clear, but the hostility is very clear. I hope that we will overcome our feuds and accept the fact that it is no tragedy if we don't all share the same views.

[Clej] Would you have preferred to be chairman of the Assembly of Deputies rather than a minister?

[Severin] It's a different kind of work, it's hard to compare. Being chairman of the Assembly of Deputies is a very important position, because the person in question can maintain an atmosphere of equilibrium and facilitate the legislative process. It is important that this process take place in a well-presided assembly.

[Clej] Do you think that it is well presided at present?

[Severin] I think that any process can be improved upon. We are all learning how to work within a democratic system and I hope that we will in the end all demonstrate that we are capable of adapting to this new situation. Consequently, I will not discourage anyone if I say that there are still great shortcomings in this respect. The Parliament must learn to overcome passions and stay with the essential problems. At present we must find the best compromise between better and faster.

[Clej] How do you define yourself politically? Are you a social-democrat, a liberal?

[Severin] I would have to be a theoretician in political doctrines to be able to make such distinctions, and this kind of labeling is rather dangerous. It does not allow for enough nuances. It is easier to characterize a group, because the average is taken as a measure, but when it comes to an individual, that is more difficult. As far as I am concerned, I define myself as a pragmatic. There is no universal and eternally valid doctrine. At some times the stress is placed on social protection, after which it may shift to the individual's freedom of action. At some times state intervention may be useful, and there are times when the state must intervene very little, if at all, in the economy. Whoever tried to present one doctrine as the best always came to moments of crisis of the respective doctrine, which required change. Automatically defining oneself as supporter of a certain doctrine can either put you in a situation in which you don't want to contradict yourself, in which case you become a conservative, or make you speculate too much in order to prove that in fact you are not contradicting yourself, which makes you disingenious. We must use the method of government that seems best suited to the development of events. I think it was Istrate Micescu who said that "only an ox is consistent" or as somebody else put it more elegantly that "only those who die young enjoy the privilege of not contradicting themselves." We need an internal democracy that will alow us to adjust to continually changing realities.

[Clej] Before concluding, what would you like to say to ROMANIA LIBERA's readers?

[Severin] I want to convey to them one of the things that seem most important to me: I may be mistaken, but from

reading the press I get the impression that at present we, Romanians don't seem to have any idea on which we can all agree, nor any principle that we can all embrace. After having all agreed, at least formally, with a certain system with which in fact no one agreed, we are now expressing disagreement about absolutely every idea and every person. I, too, view unanimity as suspect and inadvisable, but I think we should be able to find a minimum of values, particularly national values, on which we can all agree to agree. I think that the Romanians can express themselves in the world and can join Europe whether it likes it or not; they can join the rest of the world with the permission of the civilized world or without, thanks to a superior spirit. We must manage to unite in this spirit and show greater tolerance; we must show a greater spirit of brotherhood and must internalize something for which there is no word in the Romanian language dictionary, namely empathy, the capacity of leaving the position of either sympathyzer or opponent and placing oneself in the shoes of the other person, so that one can see the world through his eyes. If we had more empathy we could find that something we lack in order to present ourselves to the world in a spiritual posture apt to make it undisputably clear that we are already a part of the civilized world.

* Open Letter to Army Head of Transylvania

90BA0319B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Sep 90 p 3

["Open Letter to the Army Commander of Transylvania," by CADA, Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army, members in garrisons in Bucharest, Brasov, Timisoara, Cluj, and Sibiu]

[Text] The Army cadres who struggle to democratize this institution and to establish the truth about the participation of military men in the revolution, are hereby addressing Brigadier General Paul Cheler about an occurrence that they view as out of place. We are referring to the Appeal of the Army of Transylvania (?), signed by its commander (??), which was broadcast on television and published in the press.

We want to specify, particularly for the benefit of the civilian population, that there is no army with that name, that the military units stationed in Transylvania fall under various armies and corps commands, all of which are subordinated to the Ministry of National Defense. This being the situation, the appeal surprised us both because of its contents and intentions, and because it was signed by the commander of an army and on behalf of troops that are not under his command. We want to ask Brig. Gen. P. Cheler to inform the public and the troops of the following aspects stemming from that appeal:

1. How was it possible for a military man to suggest such a split in the Army by publishing an evidently inflammatory appeal? Is the Romanian Army no longer under a sole command, from which it takes orders, especially in special situations? (CADA was "dismantled" for alleged destabilizing charges. We are waiting to see the reaction to this obviously destabilizing appeal).

2. Who is the aggressor who is threatening the fatherland's territorial integrity and what are its imminent plans that the "army of Transylvania" had to appeal for help to the "genuine intellectuals, youth, workers, peasants, and functionaries... to join the other forces (which forces?) in deed and thought, so that this nation will never again be humiliated and brought down to its knees."

3. If the country is in danger, why aren't the reserves called up, thus permitting them to defend the beloved soil of the homeland?

4. Does Gen. Cheler think that currently there is no unity of will and action in the Army and that pathetic appeals are needed (we know who used to launch this kind of appeals!) to rally the troops and thus preempt a repetition of some of the tragic events we experienced in the unfortunate past?

5. What are the "inessential" issues to which Bucharest (probably the people in University Square, etc.) wants to divert our attention, according to "some people's" schemes, while our Transylvania is confronted by special problems "that intensely concern us" (and of which, much to our shame, we know nothing)?

We want to assure Gen. Cheler, and primarily the Defense Ministry leadership and all the people, that military men of all ranks are ready to use their military training and patriotism at the service of the fatherland at any moment, and that they are prepared to make the supreme sacrifice should the country require it. We want to remind the public that these same troops defended the Revolution with devotion, courage, and even self-sacrifice, but that they resolutely demand the real democratization of the Army, the removal (rather than the promotion) of discredited officers and officers who showed incompetence in battle conditions from responsible positions.

We believe that the above questions, as well as those concerning the mysterious aspects of the Revolution must be answered and that the due explanations be given in the interests of the army and of all the people, and of the peace so often invoked.

CADA members of garrisons in
Bucharest, Brasov, Timisoara, Cluj, and Sibiu

Editor's note: We regret that the publication of this admirable stand-taking was delayed for a few days because of lack of space. We want to add that the "army of Transylvania" must cooperate with the judicial branch (unlike in the past!) with a view to completely elucidating the involvement of the military in the events after 22 December in Brasov, Sibiu, Alba Iulia, Cugir, and Cluj.

Sabotage Excluded in Fagaras Plant Explosion

AU0310122190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1134 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/10/1990—The government commission set up for the investigation of the causes of the blow up at the Fagaras Chemical Combine concluded its work last week. From the discussions with representatives of the local procurator's office and of the administration board, it was inferred that sabotage or a criminal act were out of question. It still has to be established whether it was an accident with liability or a technical accident. The investigations of the internal commission as well as of the representatives of the Swedish firm that had supplied the respective installation lead to the conclusion that some 7-10 tons of explosive blew up there, although the personnel of the installation observed to the letter the norms of operation, of manufacturing, labour safety and fire prevention. The cause of the fire at the nitrator no 4 was a chemical reaction. The first estimation of the damage at 100 million lei was correct. The other installations damaged in the combine on that occasion were mended, so that the combine now works as before. The conclusions of the government commission are expected.

Bucharest Students' League Postpones Strike

AU0310104290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0925 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/10/1990—The Bucharest University Students' League had decided last week to propose postponement of academic year opening until appropriate accommodation and teaching facilities are made available. The University Senate decided shortly afterwards to start classes a week later than planned.

According to information from the Students' League authorized sources, executives of the City Hall and of the Ministry of Education and Science have, during talks, promised to solve accommodation problems for students of all university faculties.

The Students' League had originally planned to call a strike at the very beginning of the academic year unless accommodation was solved. Following discussions with faculty representatives and with some members of the Senate, however, it decided to postpone the strike for one week, allowing for the City Hall and the ministry to fulfill their promises.

* Reporting on Constanta Strike Attacked

90BA0318A Bucharest AZI in Romanian 9 Sep 90 p 2

[Statement by the Citizens' Committee for the Independence of ROMANIA LIBERA]

[Text] We have long stopped being surprised by the public opinion manipulation practiced by ROMANIA LIBERA, whose pages, like a Pandora wastebasket, seem to collect whatever is "blackest" and most poisonous in this country. Day after day, ROMANIA LIBERA's columns carry subtle or direct inflammatory articles, overt appeals to rebellion and strikes, open calls to antigovernmental actions, rumors "heard" or invented by weak minds ganged together in its editing room, and aberrant scenarios. ROMANIA LIBERA constantly takes the lead of the aggressive and hostile opposition, in the hope that another "square" of dissatisfaction may be exploded somewhere by some group. Studied carefully issue by issue, ROMANIA LIBERA is easily detected as the "brain" where are cooked up and launched all the maneuvers that today come to trouble the already hard and plagued life of this country. All the people dug up and interviewed by ROMANIA LIBERA abroad (where some journalists take their families on fabulous vacations—on whose money?) are selected according to one and only criterion: whether they badmouth Romania, its government, or the country's president. With sick obsessiveness, certain ROMANIA LIBERA editors—morally and politically discredited—are steering from the shadows "outlets" of destabilization, establishing throughout the country genuine branches of falsehood. Hundreds upon hundreds of letters received by the Citizens' Committee for the Independence of ROMANIA LIBERA revealed names, facts, and occurrences that prove that this indePeNdenT [PNT-cd—National Peasant Party] agency is taking orders and guidance both from outside and inside the country.

In the article "The Strike Obsession," ADEVARUL legitimately questioned what prompted ROMANIA LIBERA to suddenly carry an inflammatory article titled "State of Emergency in the Port of Constanta," although activities at that major economic unit had returned to normal. The ADEVARUL article ended with the question: "Does this mean that the above-mentioned newspaper (ROMANIA LIBERA) has recently decided to carry suggestions recommending strikes?"

Well, ROMANIA LIBERA doesn't offer only suggestions; there was more than that to the article in question.

Precisely one or two days previously, seven containers weighing over 140 tons were unloaded very discretely in Constanta. The containers had been shipped separately, so as not to attract attention, on three cargoboats: Buzias IV, Piatra Olt, and Caransebes, and the order from Bucharest had been that they should be unloaded immediately and put on special train cars, with the specification that they were to pass customs in Bucharest! We also found out who gave that order, for what "reasons," and why the addressee—none other than the former felon Petre Mihai Bacanu!—endeavored and continues to try to bring pressures to bear on the port not to observe the law in effect. However, what is most serious is that a private individual with a known police record (which the General Prosecutor's Office chooses to ignore!) can secure abusive benefits through pressures applied in the name of the newspaper.

And to make sure that the situation in the port is "troubled" in the well-known independent manner of

this pirate newspaper, due publicity was given to the "state of emergency in the port of Constanta."

We want to ask the General Directorate of Customs, the Ministry of Interior, and the Prosecutor's Office of Bucharest Municipality (publicly notified about the falsification felonies committeed by P.M. Bacanu), how long they will continue to allow certain individuals who dishonestly seized a state newspaper bearing the country's name, to behave in Romania like in the Chicago of the 1930's? Who is afraid of ROMANIA LIBERA and why?

We know that a governmental investigation commission found serious law violations, gross ignoring of legal regulations, falsifications and use of false documents by the "small entrepreneur" Petre Mihai Bacanu and his minions. Have the conclusions of this investigation been examined? Why is the public not informed about what is happening behind the shield of suspect authorizations concerning the privatization of state assets that have cost the country's budget tens of millions of lei? Do we have to invite the hundreds of citizens who joined our civic action to a protest meeting in front of the government in order to finally shed light on the Bacanist business of this former felon?

* Statement of National Convention of Journalists

90BA0319C Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Sep 90 p 2

["Declaration of the National Convention of Romanian Journalists (final document)"]

[Text] The representatives of the more than 700 members, convened in Bucharest on 31 August-1 September 1990 in their first national convention, decided:

1. To change the name of the Union of Romanian Journalists into the Association of Romanian Journalists [ARJ].

2. On the defense of freedom of the press:

—The convention is in favor of a concise and clear regulation, drafted on the basis of the future Constitution, to sanction the free access of journalists to information; the right to protect one's sources; protection for journalists in the discharge of their duty, and protection for editorial offices, print shops, and broadcasting facilities. This regulation must envisage harsh penalties for any attempt to censor articles, publications, or radio and television broadcasts, and to restrict or deny access to information.

—The appropriate provisions of the Penal Code and Civil Code must be strictly implemented with a view to protecting citizens against disinformation, manipulation, slander, and interference in private affairs.

—In these conditions, the ARJ is willing to present and support a draft bill along this line in Parliament.

—Refusing to condone the manipulation of information through distortion, ARJ energetically protests against the perpetuation of this practice by some radio and television broadcasters and certain ROMPRES services. These mass media sectors must belong to all the categories of citizens. Not only structural changes, but changes in orientation, too, are required for that purpose.

—To offer information alternatives to the citizens, ARJ decided to support, by all the legal means, the establishment of independent television stations; we expect the government to come out with a specific and explicit decision indicating the immediate measures it plans.

3. On the protection of journalists:

—We noted that recently cases of attacks on journalists and violation of their rights to gather information and to inform the public have been growing increasingly frequent and serious. We warn the government to take urgent measures to enforce the international conventions. We demand to have the circumstances in which such serious events occurred investigated and to have those responsible punished according to the law. We reserve the right to immediately report to and to request assistance form the International Federation of Journalists and other international organizations, and to reconsider the present protest later.

4. On the relations between the ARJ and the authorities:

—ARJ intends to appoint a delegation that will meet consecutively with represerntatives of the Senate, House of Deputies, and the government. We requests dates to be established for the respective meetings.

—We request the government to set aside one day every week to meet with domestic and foreign press representatives and answer their questions.

5. Concerning the international relations of the ARJ:

—The convention warmly welcomed the delegations of colleagues from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, and decided that all ethnic Romanian journalists of the Moldavian Republic who support our principles and want to apply for membership, can become members of ARJ with equal rights. The same treatment will be extended to all the ethnic Romanian publicists in the electronic and written media regardless of the country in which they live or reside.

—The ARJ Convention unanimously decided to join the International Federation of Journalists, and pledged to contribute to safeguarding the freedom of the press wherever it is threatened.

—ARJ will actively cooperate with all the international organizations that defend the freedom of the press and of journalists.

6. On defending the economic interests of press publications:

—The editors in chief, editors, and owners of nongovernmental publications decided to form a cartel as a means of defense against economic, financial, and political discrimination.

7. On the organization of the ARJ Council:

—On Monday 10 September at 1200 hours the ARJ Council will hold its first session at the FLACARA headquarters. The Steering Council will be elected and working commissions will be designated. The elected bodies will be published. After that date we want to ask the leadership of the Romanian Television to schedule a primetime program during which the ARJ can have an opportunity to introduce itself to the public.

* Brucan, Militaru Called 'Ghosts' of Past

90BA0305B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 1 Sep 90 p 1

[Augustin Muraru article]

[Text] I read and reread the confessions of Messrs. Silviu Brucan and Nicolae Militaru recently published in the daily ADEVARUL. I scan the central press every day, including the newspapers close to the country's political leadership. I remember incidents from the electoral campaign and official and unofficial declarations, especially those made since 13 June. I see before my mind's eyes scenes from Parliament sessions. People, words, gestures, expressions. The bottom line is that in A.D. 1990 our political life continues to be carried out and dominated by World War II people, by the proponents of the "cold war," collectivization, demented industrialization, and of the "comprehensively developed socialist society." In short, by ghosts from the past. Live ghosts on stage, and dead ghosts in the press and in debates, ghosts who refuse to exit the stage of history. They continue to dominate, divide, and demoralize us even now, 40-50 years later. Already in January we detected some people's desire to "replay" the game they lost in 1945-47, which was won by others with loaded dice in the shadow of the bayonets of the Red Army. And thus, the stage was taken by actors of the 1940's: octogenarians and septuagenarians with thoughts of revenge, former Iron Guardists with trembling voices, activists of nationalization and collectivization, seedy cominternists, former prison guards, royal adjutants, former pious and wise women, frustrated academics, and former nationalized bankers. The living ghost of an illegally dethroned king, the genuine ghost of a patriot marshal, the ghost of the "Captain" [Iron Guard leader] and his "guardian angels" turned into demons.

With no trace of embarrassment and with great candor Messers. Brucan and Militaru informed us that in the past 50 years we had a multitude of conspirators, plotters, saboteurs, foreign agents, traitors, and avowed spies. Some won in the political confrontation of 1945, others in 1990. And yet others, like Messers. Brucan and Militaru, have lost, and are now busy making insinuations, seeking revenge, and complicating (or simplifying?) the political game.

The Guard is slow to die; the Comintern refuses to expire, the Masonic lodges are fading slowly, and the Cabala hangs on... while the ghosts of history are even more reluctant to die.

We are living at a paradoxical and unique time. Once again we are seeing and hearing ghosts from the past, all in pairs: executioners and victims, corrupt judges and their prisoners, the dispossessed and their dispossessors, ruined people and their destroyers, "reeducated" people and their "educators." They are all vehemently demanding to play a role on this stage: former censors and inquisitors, disguised securitate members and decrepit "ideologues," confessors and professors, securitate employees, and priests with red identity cards under their habit.

Is this an attempt to restage a 45 years old play, a drama, a tragedy, a farce, and a burlesque comedy? Is this perhaps an attempt to remake an old movie with a faded film, squeeky voices, age-bent actors, and dusty props?

The ghosts of the past are slow to melt away.

The children, grandchildren, and greatgrandchildren of their generation were crushed under tank tracks in University Square in December. Other children are coming, drawn to the same place by the souls of those who cannot find their peace. Other children, sons of the generation of the ghosts, have set up a government. They are making desperate efforts to break with the past. They are looking to the future, but the ghosts drag them back to the past.

Ghosts of the past! Allow you children and grandchildren a decade of peace in this turbulent half of a century! Leave them in peace to lay the foundations for the houses of the coming century!

Your world has long disappeared. Your comrades and colleagues are watching you from Eden or Gehenna: Stalin, Dej, Ana Pauker, Ceausescu, Groza, Bratianu, Maniu, Codreanu, Lucretiu Patrascanu, and the Marshal. Go away peacefully, with your script and your props, your directors, and your stunt men. The sun has set on your world.

Croatian Assembly Views Constitutional Amendments

LD0310214490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—Only one-fifth of the 25 proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution are acceptable (Amendments 53, 57, 59, 69, and 73), today's meeting of the commission for constitutional issues of the Republic of Croatia decided. On the recommendation of the Croatian Assembly, conditional agreement could be given to amendments 52, 55, 50, 61, and 65, but on the remaining 14 amendments the republican parliament should withhold endorsement at its session tomorrow.

According to the conclusion of the constitutional commission, particular importance is attached to the actual procedure for adoption of the amendments. Attention is drawn to Article 402, Paragraph one of the present federal Constitution and the obligation that changes should be endorsed by the assemblies of all republics and autonomous provinces.

The constitutional commission of Croatia considers that this includes the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in the composition elected at the last elections, and that the authority of this assembly cannot be taken over or substituted by the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia.

Assembly Committee Recommends Urgent Measures

LD0310152790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1355 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—Efforts must be made as soon as possible to stabilize the situation in those municipalities of the Republic of Croatia largely populated by the Serbian people. To this end urgent measures must be taken to prevent all forms of violating constitutionality and law in these areas. This conclusion was made at a session today of the SFRY Assembly's Internal Affairs Committee, which met to discuss the current political-security situation in the country with special reference to events in Croatia.

A working group has also been set up to collect evidence on the spot about the political and security situation in these municipalities with, it was said, prior consultations with the Croatian Assembly.

It was said that the committee would adopt specific conclusions only after it has studied the working group's report.

Croatian Presidency Discusses Security Situation

LD0310212490 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Excerpts] A session of the Croatian Presidency, chaired by President Franjo Tudjman, has been held this afternoon. The session considered a report on the visit of the republican delegation to the United States and Canada, and the security situation in the republic. We open this evening's program with a statement from the session:

The Croatian Presidency has been briefed about results of the republican delegation visit to the United States and Canada, which contributed considerably to the affirmation of the Croatian Republic throughout the world. [passage omitted].

Having considered the security situation, the republican Presidency has concluded that it is a result of continuing efforts—which stem from a well-known scenario—to destabilize and topple the democratic government with the aim of implementing hegemonistic- unitaristic programs. The proclamation of the so-called autonomy is a part of the scenario drafted outside the republic. The proclamation is contrary to the Constitution and is legally unfounded. It is aimed against the integrity of the Croatian Republic. It is, furthermore, at odds with earlier conclusions made by the Yugoslav Presidency and the Federal Executive Committee. The proclamation of the so-called autonomy of the Serbs in Croatia is happening at the same time that constitutionally enshrined autonomies are being abolished by force in Kosovo. Instead of discussing the Croatian government initiative that the Serbs in Croatia themselves should define their own cultural autonomy, an armed uprising has erupted.

The Croatian Presidency considered the statement of the federal Presidency and a report from the SFRY Presidency session, which discussed the security situation, compiled by the Croatian Government President Josip Manolic. The Presidency supports a part of the federal Presidency statement calling for the return of seized arms, unblocking of transport and communication links, ending of night and other curfews, and ensuring peace and order. It, however, notes inconsistency in and unacceptability of a part of the statement which, flying in the face of facts and without arguments, proceeds from the hypothesis that Serbs are being endangered in Croatia, and that the Croatian Government is responsible for the situation. The Croatian Government will undertake all necessary legal steps to restore legal order, peace, and order in all parts of the republic, and protect the ill-treated and manipulated population in areas affected by unrest. It is necessary urgently to unblock roads and establish a normal flow of rail and road traffic in the Knin region, which is in the interest of not just Croatia, but this part of Europe. [passage omitted]

The Croatian Presidency especially notes the presence and harmful effects of double standards in assessing the situation and efficiency of the public security bodies in

the Croatian Republic, on the one hand, and in the Serbian republic and elsewhere, on the other. This is manifested also in the fact that President Jovic has received again an unofficial delegation of the Serbs in Croatia, despite the fact that the Serbs in Croatia have their representatives in the Croatian Presidency, the Croatian Assembly Presidium, and the Croatian Assembly, where a majority of their delegates have been taking part in the work of the Assembly.

The Croatian Presidency charges the Croatian Government to undertake all necessary steps to ensure the freedom of movement and safety of citizens in the endangered areas, and the normal flow of traffic. At the same time, appropriate legal proceedings ought to be undertaken against organizers of break-ins of police stations and seizures of arms, and those who wounded policemen and attacked journalists and citizens. The Presidency holds that the interparty assembly and government commission ought to continue talks with representatives of municipalities affected by disturbances in order to calm the population misled by misinformation, and to urgently restore conditions necessary for the normal functioning of local authorities and for the normal life of citizens.

Croat Social Democrats on Presidency Session

LD0310201290 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] The Croat Social-Democratic Party has issued a statement in connection with the session of the Yugoslav Presidency yesterday. A statement for the public says that the assessments by the Yugoslav Presidency suggesting a partnership between banditry and legal organs of the Croat Republic once again show the extent to which this body is wrapped up in the greater Serb chauvinism of Mr. Jovic and other like-minded stage managers of greater Serb hegemony. This sad policy equals Milosevic's fifth column activity and the prospects of the Serb people in Croatia, whose national entity has neither been put under a threat, nor can it be given life except by living together with Croats.

Regarding the choice of Tupurkovski as arbiter in interethnic relations in Croatia, the Croat Social Democratic Party says that this gives a perfect picture of the morality of the Yugoslav Presidency, which has sunk down to the level of basketball kitchens [kosar kaska kuhinja].

Tensions Ease Slightly; Dvor na Uni Arms Returned

LD0310174990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1627 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—In Dvor na Uni, a town in the republic of Croatia where Serbs attacked a police station and took arms late last week, arms were returned to the authorities by a town resident today, which was the first such instance so far.

The town resident said that he had decided to take the step because the special units of the Croatian Interior Ministry had left the town, and because he believed promises made that no measures would be taken against the persons who had taken arms from the police station.

Special police units sharply intervened against demonstrators and made quite a number of arrests in Dvor na Uni and other Croatian towns predominantly populated by Serbs in the past several days.

The developments in Croatia are the central political topic in the country again today. The Science Academy of the Republic of Croatia, called the Yugoslav Science Academy, today issued a statement, condemning those who "aggressively violate the republican constitution and reject dialogue."

Similar reactions came from many towns in Croatia and Slovenia.

Alija Izetbegovic, leader of the Party of Democratic Action in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a party which predominantly rallies Muslims, today qualified the actions taken by citizens against the authorities in Croatia as "illegitimate and illegal," but did set out that the Croatian authorities, themselves, must show restraint and not use force.

In Knin, a town which is a centre of the Serbian population's resistance to the Croatian authorities, the tense situation continues. Windows were broken in a number of shops owned by Croats or ethnic-Albanians last night, which the Serbian Democratic Party, which rallies the majority of the Serbs living in Croatia, condemned.

It was reported in the Croatian capital of Zagreb today that the freight railway transport via Knin had been restored, and that all rail lines, which were blocked during the past several days, would be reopened.

The passenger railway transport, as reported, is to be restored sometime today.

The actions taken by Croatian authorities against the Serbian population in that republic continued being sharply condemned in the Republic of Serbia today. Serbia's war veterans called on the Yugosav state Presidency to "take most energetic and urgent measures."

Rail Transport in Knin Resumes

LD0310122690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1033 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—All railway lines going through Knin railway junction, after the interruption of transport when barricades were erected, have been cleared this morning and freight transport will be resumed. Barricades remain only on the Knin-Benkovac railway line, but soon this line will also be passable.

Dr. Stjepan Bozicevic, deputy manager of the Zagreb Railway Transport Organization stated this morning to

TANJUG, and he said that at the moment there are 20 freight trains waiting in ports.

According to him, Zagreb Railway Transport Organization took all the necessary security measures to ensure that railway transport functions normally, and it asked the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs for help.

Passenger trains will resume their services later, probably this afternoon.

Explosion Damages Albanian's Shop

LD0410101590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0943 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] Knin, 4 Oct (TANJUG)—A cake shop owned by Femi Haliti, an Albanian, was damaged last night by an explosive device planted by as yet unidentified persons. This is the second night an explosive device was used to attack shops and kiosks in Knin. Yesterday the Knin municipal committee of the Serbian Democratic Party condemned such attacks.

Serbia Sends Food Aid

AU0310214890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Two trucks carrying food for the population of Knin and the surrounding villages left Serbia last night, it was said at the session of the Serbian Executive Council. The Executive Council has also adopted a report on preparations for a population census and the registration of households, apartments, and farms that are to be conducted in 1991. Here is a report by Marinela Raznjatovic:

[Raznjatovic] Two trucks carrying 20 tonnes of edible oil, sugar, pasteurized milk, powdered milk, and tinned food departed for the Knin region last night. One must say that the Serbs in Croatia did not ask for this aid. At the same time, a group of people has also left for Knin and they are going to talk with the representatives of the commune about what kind of help is most needed.

The report on preparations for the census says that according to the adopted (?methodology), the aim of the census is to establish the number of citizens in Yugoslavia and their territorial distribution according to republics and provinces. Apart from that, data will be collected which will enable research to be done on the most important socioeconomic and other patterns among the population particularly migrational, national, and other characteristics. [passage omitted]

50,000 Protest Croatia's 'Destruction' in Split

LD0310194290 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Marinko Cavar report from Split]

[Text] More than 50,000 inhabitants of Split are at this moment on the Split coast protesting against the organized destruction of the young Croatian democratic state. As we are reporting, speakers are lining up, representatives of 11 Split parties, united and resolute on one thing: We will defend the sovereignty of the state of Croatia at any cost; common sense is our weapon; we remain sober and determined, united in our determination to preserve the dignity and pride of the Croatian nation, which never was and never will be on its knees. These are difficult times and we must rise above the base, below-the-belt blows of Chetnik and other provocateurs. Unrest has been introduced into the hearts of the Croatian population in certain municipalities where all means and methods are being used in an attempt to destroy the peaceful coexistence of all citizens of Croatia. No one will ever again lower the Croatian flag, is the basic message of several of the speakers so far who have taken the platform on the Split seafront, decorated with hundreds of Croatian flags, in a mood of determination to defend democracy. The protest meeting is still under way as we speak, and in a few minutes will be addressed by Stipe Mesic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency.

Mesic: Crisis in Serbia, Not Croatia

LD0310225590 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] In Split this evening on the seafront, which was crowded like all the surrounding streets, a protest meeting was held at which the representatives of 11 parties protested at the introduction of unrest in certain Croatian municipalities and against the attempt to bring down the young democratic Croatian state. The Croatian League of Communists—Party of Democratic Change was not at the meeting although the appearance of its representative was announced. Here is a report from Dragica Levarsic:

[Levarsic] In front of some 100,000 citizens at what is certainly the largest rally ever held in Split, the protest meeting was opened by Split mayor Onesin Cvitan, who stressed at the outset that despite the well-prepared scenario, no one had yet succeeded in diverting the Croatian nation from the path of the struggle for Croatian independence, and nor will Master Slobo [Slobodan Milosevic] or his Chetnik emissaries. Greeted with loud and extended applause, SFRY Presidency member Stipe Mesic, addressing the assembled citizens, first noted that he had never before experienced such a rally, and went on to stress:

[Begin Mesic recording] Croatia is not in a crisis, gentlemen. All those who say crisis, the crisis is not in Croatia, the crisis is in Serbia. They are begging us, gentlemen, if you read the newspaper, they are begging us to shed blood. They are asking us to shoot. You will not see the day, gentlemen, when we shed Croatian blood. Croatian mothers will cry no more. [end recording]

[Levarsic] Because of the strong emotions displayed by the majority of those present, of whom some had clearly, after all these accusations against Croatia, lost their patience, there were calls for a more radical settling of accounts with all those who threaten the sovereignty and peaceful life and civilizational achievements of Croatia, which the events in the Knin region have divided in two with regard to traffic and roads. In such an electrified atmosphere, there were also calls for arms, [word indistinct] among those who are not threatened but threaten the life of Croats in their homeland, because of which Stipe Mesic needed considerable political skill to calm the passions of those present at what was otherwise a very dignified rally.

[Begin Mesic recording] We in politics must not conduct ourselves according to our emotions, our brains must not be directed by the endocrine glands. Our movements and our actions must be guided by reason. Europe is with us this time, while in 1971 it was against us. Those who want to make a Lebanon of us, want us to wipe each other out, so that Milosevic wins in the elections in Serbia—gentlemen, we will not do that. [loud chanting] However, as regards the borders of Croatia, be assured, the Chinese wall will be inpenetrable to all. [end recording]

Petrinja Serbs Allegedly 'Maltreated' by Militia

AU0310161690 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Oct 90 p 1

[Ratko Dimitrovic and Djuro Djukic report: "Pogrom Against Serbian Populace in Croatia: Croatian Special Forces Throw Serbian Children Around"]

[Text] Petrinja, 30 Sept—At about 2000 last night, columns of Serbs moved toward the Vasilj Gacesa Barracks of the Yugoslav People's Army garrison located on the outskirts of town. People were fleeing from the pogroms of the armored special units from Zagreb who burst into houses, conducted searches, and maltreated and arrested people.

The picture seen half a century ago, when Croatian Ustashas came down on the Serbian people, was repeated in Banija.

People fled in groups with women carrying children and infants in their arms. They ran to the fence around the barracks, climbed over, and lifted screaming children across it. We were there and we could not believe our eyes that this was happening in Croatia which its president, Franjo Tudjman, on several occasions called the freest in the world!

During that time, a raid was under way and Serbs were being dragged to Sisak and Petrinja prisons.

The command of the Petrinja garrison of the Yugoslav People's Army received the women and children and provided accommodation and food, but it was difficult to find food for the babies. Mothers fed mostly tea to their infants.

At 0200, Borislav Mikelic, president of the Socialist Party of Croatia, also arrived at the barracks. He promised the people his full involvement in searching for a sensible and the best solution in the present situation. It must be admitted that his promises and his very presence had a calming effect on the people. However, the assembled civilians took a very clear position: We are not leaving the barracks until the special units withdraw from Petrinja to Zagreb.

An identical picture was seen this morning. Almost 3,000 people were in front of the barracks—among them many children, women, and old people and several people in wheelchairs. The throng increased from hour to hour. The majority of the Serbian houses in the town are abandoned. Everything was left open, as if during a war.

Talking to those who are coming from the town, we have learned that the militia or rather the special units behave very brutally. A number of special militiamen are under the perceptible influence of alcohol.

Petrinja Croats bring drink, cakes, and food to them in the street. We hear from Serbian girls that the militiamen are extremely vulgar toward them, after they have seen their identity papers and established their nationality. The same happens to adult women who avoid going out in the street. In fact, there are very few Serbian people in Petrinja at this moment. Those who have not gathered at the barracks have fled to Banija to take refuge with relatives and friends.

Tears come to our eyes when we hear the story of night raids and brutality by Tudjman's constabulary.

Special militiamen threw children who were barely awake to the floor and pushed them with their feet, without switching on the light, all in the ghostly illumination of flashlights.

Croatia, Slovenia Serve as 'Confederative Model'

LD0310102490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0120 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—The Republics of Croatia and Slovenia will soon offer a confederative model of future relations between the republics in Yugoslavia, said a brief announcement issued after last night's meeting between the presidencies of the two republics, headed by their presidents—Dr Franjo Tudjman (Croatia) and Milan Kucan (Slovenia).

The presidencies expect that "the model will be completed in the next few days, submitted to the Yugoslav Presidency, according to the obligation the two republics have taken upon themselves, and made public," the announcement said.

Slovenia on Granting Defense Powers to Republic

AU0310165290 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] A press conference was held in Ljubljana today, at which some additional explanations and information were offered in connection with the adoption of the constitutional amendments and the constitutional law which grants, in peace as well as under emergency conditions, all the powers concerning the Slovene Territorial Defense Forces to the Presidency of the republic and the republic's Secretariat for People's Defense. Janez Jansa, republican secretary for people's defense, said the following in connection with the SFRY Presidency decision yesterday:

[Begin Jansa recording] Essentially this is an expected reaction which of course was technically and substantially drafted by the Yugoslav People's Army or rather the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. We had known about the proposal for this decision for some time, and we were convinced that it would be adopted by outvoting in the SFRY Presidency, because the situation there is such that decisions proposed by the Army are adopted with the well- known five votes, which is sufficient for adoption.

At the same time, everybody who reads this decision can see that the wording is rather general, and it is not possible to discern what specific decisions will follow. Nevertheless we have assessed these decisions in detail and we noted that essentially everything (?the command) of the Yugoslav People's Army can do in this connection without proclaiming a state of emergency—which it will not do—is to attempt to introduce a parallel system of commanding in the Territorial Defense. This is doomed to failure.

If any actual possibilities existed for the proclamation of a state of emergency in Slovenia, or rather if there were assessments that whoever would propose such a state could realistically expect the measure to succeed, a state of emergency would have been proclaimed in Slovenia before the elections. At that time such a proposal was made, and at a time when danger was the greatest.

In the present situation there is no possibility for such a state of emergency to be proclaimed, and if it were proclaimed it would be illegal and illegitimate until the republican Assembly gives its consent. The Assembly would not give such consent. This means that all the measures emanating from this decree would be illegal in Slovenia and republican organs would prevent them. [end recording]

Defense Secretary Comments

LD0310175190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1433 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency decision yesterday whereby Slovene Territorial Defense Forces have been put under the command of the Fifth Army District, with Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] units and institutions securing the implementation of this decision, is devoid of any legal foundation. This was stressed by Janez Jansa, Slovene republican secretary for national defense, during his press conference today. He spoke in great detail on amendments 96 and 97 to the Slovene Constitution, and the constitutional law giving effect to the implementation of both amendments that are in the area of national defense.

It is ludicrous to suggest that Slovenia has acted unconstitutionally, because the SFRY Presidency decision is not grounded either in the Constitution or in legislation, Jansa said. There are no regulations allowing the Fifth Army District to assume command over Slovene Territorial Defense Forces because there is no legal basis for that, and anyway it cannot be carried out in practice. Everything will remain a moot point.

Jansa went on to explain to the journalists that in keeping with the report on the session of the Slovene Presidency last night, Slovene Territorial Defense Headquarters and units will take their orders from the Slovene Presidency, the Republican National Defense Secretariat, and the newly appointed chief of Slovene Territorial Defense Republican Headquarters.

In the final analysis, the Fifth Army District, rather General Koljsek, can command only active service military personnel on the Territorial Defense strength, about five percent [of the total strength], so much so that in the final analysis this does not represent a special problem. Should that happen, we shall be forced to recall the officers because we do not want to put them in a position of double responsibility.

Jansa made the assessment that the background of the SFRY Presidency decision is the fact that when the situation in Croatia and parts of Bosnia and Hercegovina gets worse, and when the situation in Kosovo is steadily deteriorating, an attempt is made to neutralize Slovenia and cut it off from these events as an element of nuisance. There is also the intention of tying up a section of the federal structure in the sense that it will have to concern itself with Slovenia, while other structures, mainly parts involved in Serb policy, can take advantage of this vacuum.

In the wake of the decision yesterday our public and citizens are posing the question: Is it possible for military intervention to take place in Slovenia on the basis of this decision, Jansa said. He stressed resolutely that there is no legal basis for this, nor is there a real chance of this happening.

Jansa reiterated that the provisions of the Serb Constitution are far more radical and more restrictive because they have already legalized the status of all armed forces both in peacetime and wartime. Janez Drnovsek yesterday asked the SFRY Presidency to discuss the matter, but his proposal was not accepted.

Slovene Assembly Body Discusses Security Service

AU3009213790 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 25 Sep 90 p 2

[Majda Vukelic report: "The State Security Service Will Get New Leadership in November"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 24 Sep—In the previous system, the State Security Service acted as a police department for the League of Communists. To be able to answer the question of what the consequences of the activity of the State Security Service have been and how many people collaborated with it—and that is exceptionally difficult, because it is impossible to tell who was forced to collaborate with the State Security Service and who started doing so out of various motives—one would have to get into the very core of the previous system, because such work methods were a part of that system. This is not the case now. Such a way of collecting information no longer exists and the State Security Service no longer deals with internal enemies.

This is what Igor Bavcar, republican secretary for internal affairs, said at the session of the Assembly Commission Controlling the Legality of the State Security Service Activities, when, during the discussion about the last item on the agenda, some of the commission members wanted to know whether the State Security Service is still working in that way, or whether its work was so comprehensive in the past that present democratic processes may be threatened because of it. Since some members of the commission suggested that lists of the people who collaborated with the State Security Service should be made public in Slovenia—as was done in East Germany when it turned out that denunciation had been a common phenomenon—Igor Bavcar warned that making these lists public may do more harm than good. It is difficult to tell what significance collaboration with the State Security Service had and how many people had been forced to collaborate with the service. Dusan Plut, member of the Slovene Presidency and president of the Commission for the Protection of the Constitutional System, was of the opinion that Slovenia does not need these lists to be made public now, because it faces so many exceptionally important tasks whose significance lies above party interests. The commission decided that it has not said its last word on this burning and important question today. [passage omitted]

Piljak on Slovene, Bosnia-Hercegovina Differences

LD0310165890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0640 GMT 4 Oct

[Text] Sarajevo, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—There are no major differences between Slovenia and Bosnia-Hercegovina on the economic sphere, system and policy of relations, President of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency Dr. Obrad Piljak told TANJUG after a meeting of the republics' delegations on Tuesday [2 October]. However, the two republics' views on foreign policy and national defence differ completely, he said.

Slovenes favour a confederation including all Yugoslav republics or a confederation of Croatia, and Slovenia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

We made it quite clear to the Slovene delegation that we do not favour either an incomplete confederation or an incomplete federation, Dr Piljak said.

Serbian Opposition Threatens To Boycott Elections

AU0310172290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Since the Serbian authorities failed to reply to the demands that some of the opposition parties had made the day before yesterday, the opposition parties decided to boycott the elections. This was said at the news conference for Yugoslav and foreign journalists on which Dragan Stavljanin has a report:

[Stavljanin] The statement to the Serbian public that was signed by 14 opposition parties says that if the authorities do not want to turn Serbia into another Albania, we are offering them one more way out: Within the next seven days they should annul their decision to hold elections on 9 December. Instead they should hold a roundtable conference with all parties at which they should coordinate views about a new democratic election law which would be adopted in an urgent manner, so that elections could be held on 27 December and the electoral campaign would begin on 27 October. The opposition parties point out that they are ready to accept the length of the election campaign as two months if their other demands are met. This will make it possible for free elections to be held by the end of the year and Yugoslavia would then be able to join the European Council, it is said in the statement.

Expounding on the statement, Vuk Draskovic, head of the Serbian Renewal Movement, said the following:

[Begin Draskovic recording] This does not mean that we are interrupting our political activities. Far from it. We are going to continue our activities as if the elections are going to be held the day after tomorrow. We are going to act throughout Serbia, this time as a (?united) opposition, we are going to explain the reasons for the boycott to the citizens, and we are going to work to make as many people as possible boycott the elections.

It is most probable that we will organize our own multiparty elections in Serbia. [end recording]

When the journalists asked what holding their own elections in fact meant, they were told that this is a reserve possibility which will be expounded on when the time comes.

The Democratic Party, one of the members of the united opposition, did not sign the statement today, explaining

that it cannot do so without the consent of its main committee which is due to meet tomorrow.

Leaders of the opposition parties again accused the Socialist Party of Serbia of misusing its position. Milan Pareski of the People's Party said that the Socialist Alliance of Vojvodina—which is, in his opinion, nonexistent—had rented its building to the Novi Sad Television for 800 billion old dinars per month and will use the money for the election campaign. Somebody asked what happened to the money collected by the public loan and mentioned that the Belgrade League of Communists City Committee has been allocated about $1 million.

Mirko Jovic, leader of the Serbian People's Renewal, accused the Serbian leadership of causing divisions among the Serbian people in Croatia by supporting Mikelic's Socialist Party.

At the end, it was asked that Chetnik Leader Vojislav Seselj, who was arrested yesterday for violating public order, as well as other members of the opposition, be released.

Six Delegates Vote Against Serbian Constitution

AU0410074590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29-30 Sep 90 p 12

[Unattributed report: "Six Against"]

[Text] Some youth delegates were among the six voting against the new Constitution of the Republic of Serbia.

In recent days, these delegates have expressed from the Serbian Assembly rostrum their disagreement with certain provisions in the new Constitution and the way it was drawn up.

Zarko Jokanovic told us that he voted against the measure because legalized political parties would be unable to participate in the working out of the Constitution. The Constitution must involve the agreement of all political forces and the majority of citizens. The way that it has been devised has created a new test for the settling of accounts in Serbia.

The young people's objections, he said, relate above all to the notion of social property, in the way that it is used in the Constitution. This is the key problem which has led the country to its current state. There were also remarks on the excessive powers of the republican president.

Draskovic Defies Ban To Hold Belgrade Meeting

AU0310205890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Sep 90 p 4

[I. Radovanovic report: "Peace at a Banned Meeting"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade—Just two days after he marched into the Serbian Presidency accompanied by the sound of the "God of Justice" anthem and refused outright to talk with the "incompetent" Aleksandar Bakocevic ("I wanted to speak only with the head of the Serbian state"), Vuk Draskovic managed, despite a strict ban, to gather together almost 10,000 people at the entrance to Pionirski Park (which was protected by strong militia forces). He then gave a lecture, stressing that this was a "lesson in ethics" which the Serbian Renewal Movement was giving to the communists. In the end, he "respected" the ban on the gathering and after one more solemn playing of "God of Justice" he dismissed without any trouble the crowd of enthusiastic listeners, who were obviously prepared to set off to conquer the Presidency itself at just one word from him.

Everything was crowned by the laying of a wreath to "slaughtered Serbian speech" (thus, Draskovic quite skillfully and sufficiently convincingly for those who had gathered refrained from "liberating" the confiscated newspaper of the Serbian Renewal Movement, SRPSKA REC [Serbian speech], which he had announced two days ago) on the pavement 100 meters from the "scene of the crime," the Presidency building (the militia did not let them any nearer). He explained that "all Serbian speech had been killed" and that a wreath could be laid to it on every inch of Serbian territory because it "had been killed on every inch."

In short, yesterday afternoon the undoubtedly current main man of the Serbian opposition—separated by just a park and the street from the building in which Assembly delegates were discussing the possible future constitution—was doing what he wanted. When he raised three fingers in the air, everyone raised three fingers in the air; when he crossed himself, everyone crossed themselves; when he said sing, everyone sang; when he asked for quiet, there was quiet.

It is particularly important to say that the whole meeting proceeded in a quite orderly fashion even though the beginning the whole event "smelled" as if it could take a much more unfortunate course. Numerous militiamen had surrounded the park and were not letting anyone inside so that this entire blue cordon was attacked by a group of about 200 members of the Serbian Renewal Movement who were carrying banners and shouting "Beat the people," "Tito's gang," "Red treachery," and, of course, "Serbia." [passage omitted]

Militia Opens Fire, Wounds Kosovo Wedding Guests

AU0310100690 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 26 Sep 90 p 4

[Blerim Reka and Emin Azemi report: "Between Popular Support and Penal Prosecution"]

[Excerpt] Pristina, 25 Sep—The Kosovo Assembly delegate Ethem Bekeri was buried in Orahovac today with honors paid by the entire people. His mysterious death has still not been explained, apart from the fact that he passed away in Maribor. In the absence of any official explanation, three possible versions are current,

according to which he either committed suicide, was murdered by a masked man, or suffered a heart attack.

Meanwhile, the death of the Orahovac delegate was not the only tragic event in Kosovo in recent days. There is no end to the police's repression of innocent citizens, who cannot even conduct ordinary family ceremonies and celebrations. Such aspects of citizens' private lives as Albanian weddings will probably soon be banned, because the recent action of the Serbian militia in a quarter of Pec seems to indicate that weddings of Albanians will be placed on the list of things forbidden.

A Bloodstained Albanian Wedding

This took place on Sunday [23 September] in the Fidanishte quarter of Pec, when Kadri Kastrati's wedding guests from Lebushe near Decani arrived at the house of Gani Lajci, who was giving his daughter in marriage. As the wedding guests arrived, carrying the Albanian national flag, armed militiamen tried to remove the flag, but failed thanks to the cunning of the guests. Confusion then broke out and the militia began to fire guns, wounding Muhamet Kastrati (1966), Hasan Zeka (1937), and Agim Mazrekaj (1970). Witnesses assert that something worse was prevented from happening thanks to the wisdom of Kadri Kastrati, the wedding's master of ceremonies, who appealed to individuals who had seized an automatic rifle from a militiaman to shoot only into the air. Kadri then returned the weapon to the militiamen. However, the wedding did not end without further incidents, because motorized militia reinforcements soon arrived, and their blows and even gunshots spared no members of the families, workers working nearby, or even ordinary passersby. House walls were damaged and scarred with bullets, and some cars were riddled with holes like sieves. The houses of the neighborhood were then searched, and the police arrested a group of wedding guests. Meanwhile, according to the official communique of the staff of the special forces of the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs, "The militiamen were provoked by the column of wedding guests, who sang, sounded their horns, and fired guns," thus "disturbing citizens and violating public order." The same communique states that one of the wedding guests disarmed a militiaman, taking away his automatic rifle, "which compelled the militia unit to use firearms, wounding three wedding guests."

Army Officer Convicted of Podujevo Killing

AU0210160890 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 28 Sep 90 p 2

[Boxed and untitled Esad Dujaku report]

[Text] Pristina, 27 Sep—A few days ago, Sergeant Major First Class Ljubisa Visnjevac was found guilty by the military court in Nis at a trial of first instance and was sentenced to eight years in prison for the killing of Fadil Tala, aged 24, in Podujevo on 1 February this year, although a sentence of 10 or more years' imprisonment is foreseen for such a criminal act. As a mitigating circumstance, the court took into account that the accused was a psychopath, as shown by a medical examination, who was gripped by fear in Podujevo on that day and for this reason began shooting at innocent people....

Kosovo Rights Activist Zenun Celaj Arrested

AU0410074190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29-30 Sep 90 p 16

["R.B."-signed report: "Zenun Celaj Imprisoned"]

[Text] Pristina—Zenun Celaj, secretary of the Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms and a RILINDJA journalist, has been arrested in Pristina because of well-founded suspicions that he attended the illegal gathering in Kacanik under the instructions of Hamit Muharremi, former secretary of the Constitutional Commission of the dissolved Kosovo Assembly.

We have learned that Zenun Celaj's special task at Kacanik on 7 September, when the so-called "Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo" was proclaimed, was to report to newspapers which enjoy the favor of the Albanian Alternative and papers with markedly separatist contents such as DIELLI [THE SUN], REPUBLIKA, and others which appear in Albanian in Ljubljana and Zagreb.

This is the second time that RILINDJA journalist Zenun Celaj has been arrested. Charges were lodged against him last year over disinformation about the Stari Trg miners' strike which was published in RILINDJA.

Albanian Workers React to 'Political Measures'

LD0310200790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1514 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Pristina, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—It was said at a regular news conference today of the so-called Independent Trades Union of Kosovo—an association of only Albanians—that following the "political measures," over 28,000 workers of Albanian nationality have been dismissed from their jobs.

A representative of the independent trade union of the Trepca battery manufacturer of Titova Mitrovica said that about 1,400 Albanian workers in this enterprise have been on a general strike since yesterday in protest at the fact that they have not received their wages for the last six months.

Members of the independent trade union of Kosovo also protested at the detention of journalist Zenun Celaj and at the criminal proceedings against Agim Malja, the former director of Pristina Radio and Television.

Pristina Youth Paper Supports Kosovo Constitution

AU0310102890 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 26 Sep 90 p 12

[Unattributed commentary reprinted from Pristina ZERI I RINISE; place and date not given: "Imprison Us All!"]

[Text] Ilaz Ramajli, deputy president of the Kosovo Assembly, and four delegates have been imprisoned.

The Serbian political judiciary has accused them of committing a crime under Article 116 of the Yugoslav Penal Code by approving the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo. This clause is applied when the integrity of the state of Yugoslavia is endangered by force. On the other hand, the 111 delegates of the Kosovo Assembly signed a constitution which affirms many times that the Republic of Kosovo will remain within Yugoslavia, which means that Yugoslavia's integrity is not endangered in any way. However, it has long been known that logic and the Serbian state have nothing in common, and that this state has the characteristics of Orthodox National-Communism, which has always been politically irrational.

The entire Yugoslav and European public must realize that the Kosovo Assembly on 7 September expressed the plebiscitary political will of the Albanian people of Kosovo. This means that the Kosovo Assembly has merely approved what citizens of Kosovo have said and written, particularly in the last two years.

The only "culprits" for the Republic of Kosovo and the Kosovo Constitution can be the entire people of Kosovo, not the 111 assembly delegates.

For this reason, if anybody must be prosecuted for the events of 7 September, all the Albanian people in Kosovo are responsible for this deed.

On this occasion, we, all the citizens of Kosovo, are at the disposal of Serbia's (and Yugoslavia's) organs of persecution!

Please therefore arrest us all! Kosovo, 18 September 1990.

Albanian-Language Magazine Appears in Pristina

AU0410074790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29-30 Sep 90 p 12

["S.H."-signed report: "'Time' by the Back Door"]

[Text] Pristina—The entire print run of 30,000 copies of KOHA [TIME] the first independent Albanian-language political and news magazine in Yugoslavia, came off the press and sold like hot cakes yesterday.

The magazine describes itself as being an independent political and news review founded by the Arta newspaper publishing firm in Zagreb.

The review is signed by its director and chief editor, Veton Surroi, a former RILINDJA journalist, and printing and graphics were done by the Rilindja printing works in Pristina.

The review consists of 52 pages, of which four are in color. The well-known Pristina publicist and journalist Shkelzen Maliqi has written an introductory article entitled "The Republic Is Not an Illusion," and subsequent pages carry an editorial article under the headline "Competition for the Erection of a Memorial to Slobodan Milosevic."

Multiparty Macedonian Elections Set for 11 Nov

AU0110095690 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 25 Sep 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Elections in Macedonia To Be Held on 11 November"]

[Text] Skopje—The first multiparty elections in Macedonia will be held on 11 November. This was decided yesterday by Vulnet Starova, president of the Macedonian Assembly. The Republican Electoral Commission will be responsible for the conducting of the elections.

At its session yesterday, the Presidium of the Macedonian Assembly decided that this body should hold its last sessions on 28 September and 18 October and then elect members of the republican and communal electoral commissions.

Instead of the present delegate system and a three-chamber assembly, the amendments to the Republican Constitution introduce a single-chamber assembly with 120 deputies. Executive duties will be performed by the republican government and the new parliament will elect the president of the Republic instead of the present Presidency.

Macedonian Constitution Makes 'Radical Changes'

AU0210104790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 90 p 4

[N. Batkoski report: "Farewell, Delegate System"]

[Text] Skopje—With the promulgation of the 25 new amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia—at the last joint session of all three chambers of the Assembly of Macedonia—some radical changes were made to the republic's political and economic system. The most significant new elements definitely include the introduction of a parliamentary system instead of the current delegate system. After the next elections (expected to be held in November), the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia will

have a single chamber and contain 120 deputies. Executive duties will be performed by the republican government which will have both far greater powers and responsibility than the present republican Executive Council.

With the changes to the republican Constitution, the citizen becomes the primary political subject and holder of power. Numerous previous ideological provisions in the Constitution have been abandoned, while all forms of ownership have become equal and enterprises are guaranteed greater independence, in line with the market orientation of business operations and the economic reform. Self-managing interest communities are being discontinued and social activities are to be financed from funds. There are also significant changes to come in the communal set-up of Macedonia. Many functions which have hitherto been carried out by a commune or its assembly, particularly in the fields of national defense, internal affairs, taxation policy, and so on, are transferred onto the republic thereby, as assessed, stripping power from the commune, which has in many situations played the role of a state within a state. However, the introduction of communal self-management will make it possible for a commune, as a smaller and local self-managing community, to be more concerned with the direct needs of working people and citizens and the realization of their interests.

Some of the demands of the newly formed Macedonian political parties have also been met in the changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. This involves above all the demand from a large number of political party for the introduction of the post of president of the Republic instead of the present Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. The president of the republic will be elected by the republican parliament and not by citizens in direct and secret elections, as was proposed on several occasions. That is to say, the stand prevailed that a head of the republic elected by the people and with great powers would be more appropriate to the so-called presidential system (like the one in the United States) and not the parliamentary system that the Macedonian public supports. The president of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia will also have a vice president.

A provision is also written into the Constitution whereby the Socialist Republic of Macedonia will be concerned with the rights and position of the parts of the Macedonian people in neighboring countries, and a significant provision is the one that makes concrete an earlier right to self-determination as far as secession, which has been written into all postwar Macedonian constitutions. That is to say, a way has been established for Macedonia's possible separation from the Yugoslav community. This provision envisages that the Assembly of Macedonia would first of all decide with a qualified majority (two-thirds of deputies) to organize a referendum and then Macedonian citizens would later make a decision in a referendum on whether they support separation from Yugoslavia or not. The same procedure is envisaged for changing the coat of arms, flag, and borders of Macedonia.

Montenegrin Assembly Adopts Election, Media Law

LD0310194190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1456 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Titograd, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—The chambers of the Montenegrin Assembly, at a special session today, endorsed the law on the election and revocation of deputies and committee members and on the election of the Presidency and the president of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, as well as the law on public information media. These important legal acts, together with the already adopted law on citizens' political association, provide the legal requisites for multiparty elections to be held in Montenegro by the end of the year.

Republican Secretary for Jurisdiction Jaksa Markovic said in the Assembly today that all political parties took part in the process of drafting the law on committee members and deputies, and as such, the law is a result of political consensus. Just before that, political parties stressed that they had serious objections to the legal acts.

'Total Economic Paralysis' Envisaged in Montenegro

LD0310194590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1647 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Titograd, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—[passage omitted] The Montenegro Government today said that the republic was threatened by a "total economic paralysis." It sent a letter to the federal government, demanding a consistent implementation of the laws which regulate Yugoslavia's economic assistance to the underdeveloped Republic of Montenegro.

The success of the economic reform in Montenegro depends on whether Yugoslavia and the federal government will meet Montenegro's demands, the letter said.

Vojvodina Party Postpones Unification Conference

AU0310095990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 90 p 4

[S. Stanojevic report: "Why the 'Conference of Unification' of the League of Communists of Vojvodina and the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Vojvodina Into the Socialist Party of Serbia in Vojvodina Has Been Postponed: All Because of the Grass Roots"]

[Excerpts] Novi Sad—The "first conference of unification" of the League of Communists of Vojvodina and the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Vojvodina into the Socialist Party of Serbia in Vojvodina, which was first slated for 29 September and subsequently for 6 October, will be held as late as 20 October. On that occasion, 75 members of the Provincial Committee of

the Socialist Party of Serbia will be elected, and they will then elect a president and an executive committee, most probably numbering 15 members.

This repeated postponement of the "unification conference" has attracted considerable attention in Vojvodina, especially after the well-known clashes in Vojvodina between Mihalj Kertes, Radovan Pankov, and "Yugosolidarity" on the one hand, and Nedeljko Sipovac and the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, supported by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, on the other. Therefore we interviewed Dragan Slijepcevic, present secretary of the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Vojvodina and president of the Committee Preparing the First Conference of the Socialist Party of Serbia in Vojvodina, asking the following question: Why the repeated postponement of this important political gathering?

Slijepcevic said to BORBA:

"The postponement occurred because the sequence of 'election moves' has been changed by a decision of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia Originally, the Provincial Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia was to be formed first, and the party was to be constituted in the communes and local communities afterwards. Subsequently, the entire procedure has been reversed: the local and communal committee are to be elected first, and the Provincial Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia last." [passage omitted]

Asked whether the latest "disagreements" between several prominent Vojvodina politicians affected the decision to resolve the "cadre knot" at the grass roots, Slijepcevic stressed:

"It was decided at a session of the joint initiative committee that all the Socialist Party of Serbia members, and especially the leading cadres, must struggle for the same policy, and must struggle together. If individuals continue to jump over the fence, the question of their responsibility toward the party to which they belong will have to be raised, and it will be raised within the appropriate organs of the Socialist Party of Serbia." [passage omitted]

New Party in Vojvodina Hopes for More Autonomy

LD0110153990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Excerpt] A new political party has been formed in Novi Sad, called Voivodina Forum [Vajdasagi Forum]. The organization's main objective is that Voivodina should gain greater autonomy within Serbia. At the same time the new party supports the similar endeavors of Kosovo. [passage omitted]

FEC's Pregl on Republican Ties, Reform Process

AU0210183690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 90 p 3

[D. Vucinic report on interview with Zivko Pregl, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, at economic reform conference held for foreign journalists on 25 September; place not given: "Market and Democracy—Siamese Twins"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] **What Is Milosevic's Stand?**

One of the questions asked by journalists was: What is Slobodan Milosevic's stand on the federal government's reform program? Are there any conflicts between the Federal Executive Council and Serbia, considering that this republic is attacking the Federal Executive Council more than anybody else?

"You should ask Comrade Milosevic himself about his stands," Pregl replied. He also said that criticism and attacks from various communes change according to time and subject. "If you had come here at some other time you would have probably heard criticisms from some other commune."

National Defense

Answering the question on how the future defense of Yugoslavia is planned, Zivko Pregl said that the government wants to depoliticize all state organs, something that must be done in a multiparty system. A law on national defense is also being prepared and this law will take into account changes in relations in the world and our in our own country. The Armed Forces will, like in other countries, serve for the defense of Yugoslavia, and the Army will be a state institution regardless of which party is in power.

Therefore, there will be certain changes in the internal organization of national defense. The extent and the nature of these changes will depend on the relationship between the republics and the federation, which will be regulated with the new constitution or a new agreement on the country's organization.

State's Integrity Is Inviolable

Answering a question concerning the rights of Albanians in Kosovo and the ways of solving the crisis there, Pregl said:

In solving problems in Kosovo the government proceeds from the fact that the integrity of Serbia and Yugoslavia cannot be discussed. Haggling over it is out of the question. According to the present Constitution, Kosovo and Vojvodina are the constituent elements of the federation. How they will they be defined in the future is a matter for the new constitution. The Federal Executive Council will soon discuss all aspects of the economic, political, and legal situation in Kosovo. We have asked appropriate provincial and republic organs to submit a report to us about this.

As regards the visit of a delegation of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights to Kosovo and Serbia, the Federal Executive Council takes the view that they did not interfere in the internal affairs of the country and that these people were legally entitled to visit our country.

The Name Is Not Important

One of the journalists asked whether the government will be committed to Yugoslavia remaining a socialist country or not.

Our role is to propose and find the best solutions for life, Pregl said. The government will continue to think about how to make the country economically more efficient, how to provide more political freedom, democracy, human rights, and how to ensure a higher standard of living. What this country or system will be called is best left to the politicians to decide.

Replying to somebody's remark that the government of Ante Markovic has been building the image of a strong government, Pregl said: "No, but it has been building the image of a successful government."

Federation or Confederation

Whether we are going to have a federation or a confederation, Zivko Pregl said, is something nobody can decide at a negotiating table, including the Federal Executive Council.

One must bear in mind, Pregl stressed, that interethnic, interdenominational, and similar conflicts used to simmer in the past as well. The democratization of relations has only highlighted them in a more acute form. The present extremes are only a normal consequence of our zigzag development and our inability to openly discuss different views in the past. This is why we have embarked on changing the system so no one single party, party state, or state party could unquestioningly determine what is and what is not the truth.

Changing the economic system in the direction of market efficiency and the political system in the direction of multiparty democracy creates conditions in which everybody—without outvoting one another and without resorting to force—can say and agree on what is what, and what kind of Yugoslavia we want, proceeding of course from the sovereignty of man, people, and republics, and from the demands that the functions of the federal state, whatever they may be, serve the interests of all.

Referendum, Yes or No

As regards a possible referendum on the future structure of Yugoslavia, Vice President Pregl said that the federal government considers the continuation of reforms and the adoption of the proposed constitutional amendments as the key elements in overcoming the constitutional crisis. This would create conditions for a talk about the future "architecture of the country." Talks about a federation or a confederation outside the scope of this would hardly be productive. [passage omitted]

Tudjman's 'Courtesy Meeting' With Bush Viewed

AU0410083790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 90 p 7

[Gordana Logar commentary: "Message or...."]

[Text] One should definitely ignore the praise and criticism which will probably appear in the local press tomorrow regarding the meeting between President Bush and Dr. Franjo Tudjman. Hyperbole and euphoria are a part of our daily lives and the usual (permitted) propaganda tools until the actual event is accurately described.

Such a description was obviously taken care of by the U.S. side which—as can be seen from TANJUG reports—called the meeting a courtesy visit (but not official), and since it came after a visit to the President's national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, it can be assumed that the meeting was virtually accidental and in passing. All this is quite normal diplomatic conduct and language, no matter how incomprehensible or unacceptable it is to the wider public, which is (justifiably) ill-prepared for political, linguistic, and protocol nuances.

If this is nevertheless the case, it remains indisputable that the courtesy meeting between the President of the United States and the president of one Yugoslav republic—recently legally elected in multiparty elections and therefore an ex officio member of the SFRY Presidency—could not be faulted. It should also be added that in all his meetings—including the ones at Yale University where he put forward a document, a project for a confederal Yugoslavia, and with the Jewish Anti-Defamation League which issued a statement on official Croat condemnation of anti-Semitism—he did his best to satisfy all the demands that the host could have made for such a courtesy visit, particularly as only afterwards, did Dr. Tudjman have some harsh things to say at a news conference about the other, the southern, the Serbian side of Yugoslav territory and even expressed doubt that "the support that Western countries have been extending to the Federal Executive Council would bear fruit."

Moreover, it cannot be discounted that the same meeting could have taken place even if the news conference had been held before his visit to the White House, because everything that Dr. Tudjman said then could, with diplomatic maneuvering, have been presented as part of domestic squabbles and, finally, part of the Croatian president's idea of good behavior. In the final analysis, this is not news for the U.S. public which is not at all interested (the United States press have so far not reported on the Croatian delegation's visit to the United States) because something similar was once said by the now politically unfashionable Mr. Stanovnik. In the whole scenario, one should not underestimate the influence of Senator Dole who heads the republican minority in the Senate (he used to be the leader of the republican

majority until the President's and his party lost seats in the congressional elections), which is again part of local relations, this time in the United States.

Nevertheless, despite the goodwill and even the feeling—by only politicians and political analysts—for diplomatic tradition, the meeting between President Bush and President Tudjman could not be perceived as a part of faithful adherence to international protocol. It is an irrefutable fact that Dr. Tudjman did not go to the United States through the usual diplomatic channels, which include the U.S. Embassy in the SFRY and vice versa. The latter, the Yugoslav diplomatic side was totally avoided—Dr. Tudjman and the SFRY Embassy in the United States did not have any contact whatsoever. It can therefore be said that it is another irrefutable fact that the President's men knew that, as did the State Department. Therefore, the absence of diplomatic consistency in this case means that the Yugoslav side was deliberately ignored.

It would definitely be an exaggeration to conclude that the message thus conveyed was that U.S. policy had changed—that it is interested in Yugoslavia only as a whole (in whatever state form)—but it cannot be denied that some message was nonetheless conveyed. The easiest thing would be to put this into an "anti-communist" framework, into one concerning the violation of human rights in Kosovo or, what is most important for the West, one concerning the appreciation of only those politicians elected at multiparty elections. It would have to go further than this, however.

At this time of a post-cold war quest for new roads in international relations, all options are being considered by all sides, as well as perhaps even a newer approach by U.S. politicians to Yugoslavia as it is or as it will be, since it is definitely not the same as it was when the United States defined its long-term approach and interests. People who would like an unchanged Yugoslavia as an entity cannot consider to be in their favor the fact that President Bush received Ms. Prunskiene, Lithuanian prime minister, but nevertheless did not support secession from Moscow. This is not only because the lady failed at legal multiparty elections but because the USSR is a great power and a great rival and partner of the United States.

Political wisdom however does not release even a small country from the obligation to consider all the possible options that are prompted by the new power relationships on the altered international stage.

Meeting 'Lasted a Minute or Two'

AU0410080590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 90 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Cold Shower"]

[Text] Belgrade—We have learned from usually well-informed and reliable sources that the U.S. and Croatian presidents met while passing in a corridor of the White House, their conversation lasted a minute or two, and consisted of just a few polite phrases. These sources were confirmed to a certain extent by yesterday's report by the VJESNIK correspondent which cites Dr. Tudjman's words: "We had a long talk with General Scowcroft and then we had the opportunity to meet with President Bush too."

However, our sources even go behind the scenes of the talks between Dr. Tudjman and B. Scowcroft and assert that the guest from Croatia first all asked that the State Department translator be removed because he was of Serbian origin. We have also got wind of the news that the two participants in the talks had a different view of the future of Yugoslavia, at least as far as its disintegration is concerned. It is claimed that Scowcroft's stand had the effect of a cold shower because the United States is still interested only in a federal Yugoslavia as a stable and unified state, united around the reform which the federal government has proposed (which could also be seen at the session of the IMF and the World Bank). After all, the United States has so far been continually repeating this stand.

Since we have no cause to doubt the truthfulness of our sources, it is logical to raise the question of why the U.S. side did not publicize this. The assessment that there is no reason to officially report on an already-known stand and meetings in corridors can only partly satisfy the domestic public, which—already oriented toward democracy, just like the U.S. public—has every right to officially find out the truth.

Air Force MiG Crashes Near Mirna; Pilot Lives

LD0310153690 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] At 0915 [0815 GMT] this morning a Yugoslav Air Force MiG crashed between Bujska Nova Vas and Novigrad [Istrian Peninsula]. According to eyewitnesses the aircraft caught fire while in the air and burned completely when it crashed on the banks of the Mirna river. The pilot ejected from the aircraft and is now being treated in Umag health center.